

THOMAE ARCHIDIACONI
SPALATENSIS
HISTORIA SALONITANORUM
ATQUE
SPALATINORUM PONTIFICUM

ARCHDEACON THOMAS
OF SPLIT
HISTORY OF THE BISHOPS
OF SALONA AND SPLIT

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Latin text by
OLGA PERIĆ

Edited, translated and annotated by
DAMIR KARBIĆ, MIRJANA MATIJEVIĆ SOKOL
and JAMES ROSS SWEENEY



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GENERAL EDITORS' PREFACE

While interest in the medieval and early modern history of the Central European region is definitely growing, knowledge of the medieval languages in which the story is usually told (mainly Latin) has been declining for some time. Just as historians in the rest of Europe appreciated the value of modern language translations in presenting a picture of their country's history, so Central Europeans too have done their best to translate their past chroniclers into the local vernaculars. However, very little has been done to make these highly important narrative sources available to readers not familiar with the relevant Central European languages.

The General Editors' plan is, therefore, to follow the example of such highly acclaimed enterprises as the *Oxford* (previously *Nelson*) *Medieval Texts* by launching a series of narrative sources on medieval Bohemia, Croatia, Hungary, Poland, and their neighboring countries. Each volume will contain the Latin (or medieval vernacular) text, an English translation, an introductory essay, annotations, indexes, and the usual scholarly apparatus, edited by the best experts in the region and beyond. Since these sources are mostly available in good, relatively recent critical editions, *Central European Medieval Texts* will print the original language texts with only select textual variants. However, extensive notes will be added on features, persons, and institutions of the region perhaps less known to persons outside it.

It is envisaged that a volume will be published yearly, so we hope that the series will have made the most important narrative and hagiographical sources of the region available within a decade or two.

The General Editors would like to take the opportunity to invite colleagues working on such texts to join the team of scholars editing *Central European Medieval Texts*, so that the series can proceed with good speed to deliver editions and translations of first-class quality. Readers, in turn, are encouraged to communicate to the General Editors their comments on the volumes and their suggestions for further texts to be included in the series.

The General Editors are grateful to Pasts, Inc., Center for Historical Studies at CEU for having joined the project of publishing the medieval narratives of the region and for the grant from the Department of History in the Faculty of Humanities, Zagreb University/Odsjek za povijest Filozofskog fakulteta Sveučilišta u Zagrebu for the present volume.

J. M. B. – U. B. – G. C. – G. J. – G. K.

ABBREVIATIONS

GENERAL ABBREVIATIONS

ch.	chapter/caput
HAZU	Hrvatska akademija znanosti i umjetnosti, Zagreb [Croatian Academy of Sciences and Arts] (since 1991)
JAZU	Jugoslavenska akademija znanosti i umjetnosti, Zagreb [South Slav Academy of Sciences and Arts] (until 1991)
MTA	Magyar Tudományos Akadémia [Hungarian Academy of Sciences], Budapest
p., pp.	page/pages

TITLES CITED IN ABBREVIATED FORM

CD	Tadija Smičiklas <i>et al.</i> (eds.), <i>Diplomatički zbornik Kraljevine Hrvatske, Dalmacije i Slavonije. Codex diplomaticus Regni Croatiae, Dalmatiae et Slavoniae</i> , 18 vols. (Zagreb: JAZU, 1904–90).
Farlati	Daniele Farlati and Jacopo Coleti, <i>Illyricum sacrum</i> , 8 vols. (Venice: Coleti, 1751–1819).
Lucius, <i>Legacy</i>	<i>Ostavština Ivana Lučića</i> [Documents and manuscripts left by Iohannes Lucius], Kap-tolski Arhiv u Splitu [Archive of the Chapter

of Split], Split (a copy of these is also available in the Arhiv HAZU, Zagreb).

- MMS Mirjana Matijević Sokol, *Toma Arhiđakon i njegovo djelo* [Thomas the Archdeacon and his work] (Jastrebarsko: Naklada Slap, 2002).
- RA Imre Szentpétery and Iván Borsa (eds.), *Az Árpád-házi királyok okleveleinek kritikai jegyzéke. Regesta regum stirpis Arpadiane critico-diplomatica*, 4 vols. (Budapest: MTA, 1923–1987).
- Serie* A., “Serie dei Reggitori di Spalato,” *Bullettino di archeologia e storia dalmata* 7 (1884), pp. 103–6, 119–21, 135–9, 151–6, 168–171, 185–6; 8 (1885), pp. 46–7, 60–4, 74–5, 98–100, 119–20, 135–6, 150–2, 165–8, 184.
- SRA Imre Szentpétery (ed.), *Scriptores rerum Hungaricarum tempore ducum regumque stirpis Arpadianae gestarum*, 2 vols. (Budapest: MTA, 1937–38)

NB: Classical and Biblical references are given in the generally accepted abbreviated forms.

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Incipit of the Codex Traguriensis
 (Országos Széchényi Könyvtár, Kézirattár, Cod. Lat. 440)

INTRODUCTION

Archdeacon Thomas of Split, one of the most interesting persons of medieval Croatia and an active participant in many events of the contemporary public, political and particularly ecclesiastical life of his native Split in the thirteenth century, would today be hardly known had he not written the *Historia Salonitana* (henceforth: HS). This work was first published and was given that name by Iohannes Lucius (Lučić) (1604–79), the father of modern Croatian historiography, in 1666.¹ With Lucius' *editio princeps* Thomas' work became a part of the corpus of European medieval literature: examples from it were already included in the first edition of Du Cange's *Glossarium* in 1678.²

THE MANUSCRIPTS OF THE HS

There are several medieval codices containing the HS, and also some more recent ones, which are still relevant for establishing their filiation. The seminal study on them is still that

¹ Iohannes Lucius, *De regno Dalmatiae et Croatiae libri sex* (Amsterdam: Blaeu, 1666), pp. 310–70.

² Charles du Fresne dominus Du Cange, *Glossarium mediae et infimae latinitatis*, 3 vols. (Paris: no publ., 1678).

of Isidor Kršnjavi,³ recently corrected and augmented by Olga Perić.⁴

Most scholars agreed that the oldest extant manuscript is the one written in Beneventan minuscule on parchment, known as the Codex Spalatensis (henceforth: **S**).⁵ It is kept in the Archive of the Chapter of Split (KAS 623 B). The text is divided into 49 chapters, and as the manuscript does not end with the usual *explicit* it was considered unfinished. Of the original 122 folia in the codex, several folia are now missing (fols. 1, 19, 24, 33–5, 40, 72, 99, 100–2). Thomas' work ends on fol. 120v. On the same folio is added a more recent note on Thomas' authorship, the year of his death and the place of his funeral.⁶ On fol. 121r there are several interesting notes written in a Humanist script, such as the year of the destruction of Salona (as CCCCCCXXXVIII) and the year of the translation of SS. Duimus and Anastasius (as MCIII). On fol. 121v is the text of the so-called *Pacta conventa* in a later hand.⁷ There are also

³ Isidor Kršnjavi, "Prilozi historiji salonitani Tome arcidjakona Spljetskoga" [Contribution to the *Salonitan History* of Archdeacon Thomas of Split], *Vjestnik kr. hrvatsko-slavonsko-dalmatinskog Zemaljskog arkiva* 2 (1900): 129–69. See also Isidor Kršnjavi, *Zur Historia Salonitana des Thomas Archidiaconus von Spaleto. Studie I–V* (Zagreb: no publ., 1900).

⁴ Toma Arhidakon, *Historia Salonitana: povijest salonitanskih i splitskih prvosvećenika Thomae Archidiaconi Historia Salonitanorum atque Spalatinarum pontificum*, ed. by Olga Perić and Mirjana Matijević Sokol, with a study by Radoslav Katičić (Split: Književni krug, 2003) (henceforth: Toma), pp. v–xxi.

⁵ For more, see Toma, pp. v–vii.

⁶ *Memoriale bonę memorię domini Thome archidiaconi Spalatensis, qui floruit circa annum Domini MCCLXVI et sepultus est in ecclesia sancti Francisci Fratrum conuentualium*.

⁷ The *Pacta conventa* is a short historical treaty describing the settlement between King Coloman and the Croatian nobility and his election as the king of Croatia. It was compiled most probably during the second half of the fourteenth

other later notes on the margins of this codex, written in different hands, from the period from the fourteenth to the seventeenth century.

There were different opinions about this codex. Kerubin Šegvić considered it to be the original.⁸ This opinion was opposed by Stjepan Gunjača, who based his argument on the fact that in his capacity as a notary Thomas used Carolino-Gothic script and not Beneventan minuscule.⁹ Contrary to that opinion, Virginia Brown, based on her own palaeographical analysis of S, according to which the manuscript displays general characteristics of the Beneventana of the Split and Trogir area and that it may be dated to the second half of the thirteenth century, that is, in Thomas' lifetime, proposed that it might have been written under the author's supervision or even by Thomas himself.¹⁰ Philological analysis of corrections in the text by Olga Perić supports that opinion.¹¹ At any rate, S is certainly the oldest extant version of Thomas' work, and is thus used as the basis for this edition.

century. In the nineteenth century it became the object of heated debate between Hungarian and Croatian historians and politicians, because the issue of its authenticity was at that time considered as relevant for the political status of Croatia in the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy. For more, see Edgar Hösch, Karl Nehring and Holm Sundhausen (eds.), *Lexikon zur Geschichte Südosteuropas* (Vienna–Cologne–Weimar: Böhlau, 2004), p. 510.

⁸ Kerubin Šegvić, *Toma Splićanin, državnik i pisac 1200.–1268*. [Thomas of Split, statesman and writer 1200–68] (Zagreb: no publ., 1927), p. 123. See also Idem, "Tommaso Arcidiacono [di Spalato] : il suo tempo e la sua opera," *Bullettino di archeologia e storia Dalmata* 37 (1914), Suppl. 1.

⁹ Stjepan Gunjača, *Ispravci i dopune starijoj hrvatskoj historiji* [Corrections and additions to the earlier Croatian history] 1 (Zagreb: Školska knjiga, 1973), pp. 13–21.

¹⁰ Virginia Brown, "Tommaso Arcidiacono, Historia Salonitana," *Tesori della Croazia restaurati da Venetian Heritage Inc.* (Venice: Edizioni Multigraf, 2001), pp. 166–7.

¹¹ Toma, pp. xvii–xix.

From the point of view of aesthetics, the nicest medieval manuscript of Thomas' work is that in the *Codex Traguriensis* (henceforth: T), kept today in the Széchényi National Library in Budapest (Codices Latini medii aevi 440).¹² It originally belonged to the Archiepiscopal Library in Split, where it was seen and described by Daniele Farlati: ... *inter quos vel antiquitate vel pulchritudine litterarum Gothicarum illud facile praestat, quod asservatur in Archivio Archiepiscopali Spalatensi*.¹³ It was described also in Franjo Rački's report of his research in Dalmatian archives and libraries; at that time it belonged to the library of the Garagnin-Fanfogna family in Trogir, where it was transferred by Archbishop John Luke Garagnin.¹⁴ In 1903 Ivan Dominik Fanfogna sold it to the Hungarian historian Lajos Thallóczy for the library of the Society of St. Stephen (Szt. István Társulat) in Budapest. Some time later, under unknown circumstances, the manuscript came to the library of the Hungarian National Museum and from there to its present home. Historians disagree about the exact dating of T, but they all place it in the period between the late 1380s and the fifteenth century.¹⁵ As it is particularly nicely illustrated, the manuscript received attention also from historians of art.¹⁶ The manuscript is written in literary Gothic script of the Bologna type. That

¹² See Emma Bartoniek, *Codices manu scripti Latini* 1 (Budapest: National Museum of Hungary, 1940), pp. 395–7; Toma, pp. VII–VIII.

¹³ Daniele Farlati, *Illyricum sacrum* 3 (Venice: Coleti, 1765), p. 283.

¹⁴ Franjo Rački, "Iztraživanja u pismarah i knjižnicah dalmatinskih" [Research in Dalmatian archives and libraries], *Rad JAZU* 26 (1874): 175.

¹⁵ Miho Barada, "Skup splitskih povijesnih izvora" [The group of Spalatin historical sources], *Nastavni vjesnik* 49 (1940–1): 88; Idem, "Postanak hrvatskog plemstva" [Origin of Croatian nobility], *Časopis za hrvatsku povijest* 1 (1943) 3: 202–3; Duško Kečkemet, "Ilustracije budimpeštanskog kodeksa arhidakona Tome" [Illuminations of the Budapest codex of Thomas the Archdeacon], in Ivan Erceg *et al.* (eds), *Gunjačin zbornik* [Gunjača Festschrift] (Zagreb: Veselin Masleša, 1980), pp. 173–80, here 174; Bartoniek, *Codices*, pp. 395–7.

¹⁶ Besides Kečkemet (as above), see also Ljubo Karaman, "Buvinove vratnice i drveni kor splitske katedrale" [The cathedral gates of Buvina and the wooden choir of Split Cathedral], *Rad HAZU* 275 (1942): 1–96.

codex is also a miscellany (*collectaneum*) consisting of several texts, among them the *Pacta conventa*, other Spalatin histories and a list of kings of Hungary.

Three manuscripts of the HS are kept in the *Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana* (henceforth: BAV). The most important among them is certainly a medieval one, usually referred to as “the Vatican manuscript” (MS Vat. Lat. 7019) (henceforth: V).¹⁷ It is written on paper in Gothic cursive minuscule. It was for a long time considered the oldest extant copy, written not long after Thomas’ death.¹⁸ However, based on the study of paper and watermarks, Kršnjavi established that it was written in the second half of the fourteenth century.¹⁹ It is copied from S, but the text of the HS is organized in 51 chapters, because the copyists divided chapters XX and XXXV into two. The remaining two manuscripts kept in BAV are from the early modern period.²⁰

A medieval manuscript is kept also in the National and University Library in Zagreb (MS R 3311) (henceforth: Z).²¹ This is a paper codex written in cursive by two hands (the first from the fifteenth and the second from the seventeenth century). It is apparently a copy from the *Codex Spalatensis*, because they had

¹⁷ See Toma, pp. x–xi.

¹⁸ That opinion was already held by Lucius (*antiquissimum exemplum Historiae Salonitanae*); cf. Johannes Lucius (Lučić), *Inscriptiones Dalmaticae* (Venetiis: Curti, 1673), pp. 72–3. It was maintained until the 1880s or early 1890s, when the *Codex Spalatensis* was discovered. For more details, see Šegvić, *Toma Splićanin*, p. 130.

¹⁹ Kršnjavi, “Prilozi,” 131; cf. Toma, p. x.

²⁰ The first is the manuscript Vat. Lat. 6958 from the sixteenth or the seventeenth century, donated to the library by Johannes Lucius (Lučić) (*ex dono Lucii*), the other is the so-called Urbinate manuscript (signature Urb. Lat. 910) written in seventeenth- or eighteenth-century cursive.

²¹ See Toma, pp. viii–ix.

the same characteristic ending: “... *fecit se consepelire domini Crescentio ante fores ecclesie. Finis.*”, followed by the text of the *Pacta conventa*.²²

Besides the four medieval manuscripts mentioned above, there is also a codex written in fifteenth-century cursive in the Biblioteca Marciana in Venice (Cl. IX, cod. LXXV, MSS latini 3290) (henceforth: **M**).²³ There are several later copies in the Archive of the Chapter of Split,²⁴ the Archive of the Croatian Academy of Sciences and Arts²⁵ and the State Archive of Dubrovnik.²⁶

Regarding the filiation of medieval manuscripts of the HS, the recent analysis of Olga Perić established that **S** was the basis for all medieval copies (**T**, **V**, **M**, **Z**). All later manuscripts originate in **T** and **V**, while **M** and **Z** apparently did not influence any later copy.²⁷

EDITIONS

As mentioned above, the first edition of the HS was prepared by Johannes Lucius, among other sources appended as *Rerum Dalmaticarum Scriptores* to his major work *De regno Dalmatiae et Croatiae libri sex*, published in Amsterdam in 1666. In this edition the text of the HS was based on **V** and a manuscript, no

²² In the same library there is also a manuscript written in sixteenth-century cursive (signature: R 5720).

²³ See Toma, pp. IX–X.

²⁴ In the Archive of the Chapter of Split there are two manuscripts, one from the seventeenth (KAS 534) and one from the eighteenth century (KAS 672); see Toma, pp. XI–XII.

²⁵ There is one sixteenth-century manuscript (I d 22) and one from the seventeenth or the eighteenth century (II b 155); see Toma, pp. XII–XIII.

²⁶ It is an eighteenth-century manuscript (I–10, 402); see Toma, p. XIII.

²⁷ For a *stemma*, see Toma, pp. XIX–XXI.

longer extant, belonging to the seventeenth-century Spalatin patrician Peter Cindro (who, in turn, made his copy from both V and T).²⁸ Lucius' work, including the HS, was reprinted in 1748 as the third volume of Johann Georg Schwandtner's series *Scriptores Rerum Hungaricarum, Dalmaticarum, Croaticarum et Slavonicarum*, with only minor orthographic changes.²⁹

Lucius' and Schwandtner's publications enabled the work of the archdeacon to be included, at least partially, in other source collections. Daniele Farlati used these editions extensively, but he also made an effort to study the manuscripts, particularly T. As he was fully confident of Thomas' statements, he included almost all the HS in the form of extensive quotations in his *Illyricum sacrum*.³⁰ Parts of Thomas' work related to the Salonitan martyrs and St. Rainer were reprinted from Lucius' edition in the *Acta Sanctorum* (April 11: *De sanctis Martyribus Dalmatis*³¹ and August 4: *Sanctus Raynerius*³²). Besides these publications, the parts regarding the Mongol incursion (chapters 36–9) and a selection from chapters 16–35 and 40–9 were published in vol. 29 of the *Scriptores* series of *Monumenta Germaniae Historica* by Lothar von Heinemann, who edited it exclusively on

²⁸ Some corrections to this printed edition, including those related to the HS, were later published by Lucius under the title *Ad historiam Thomae Archidiaconi Spalatensis et memoriam Episcoporum Salonitanae Ecclesiae* in the second edition of his work from 1668 (on ff. 5v–6r) and some further ones in his work *Inscriptiones Dalmaticae* in 1673.

²⁹ Johann Georg Schwandtner, *Scriptores Rerum Hungaricarum, Dalmaticarum, Croaticarum et Slavonicarum* 3 (Vienna: Kraus, 1748), pp. 532–636.

³⁰ See above, n. 13. Thomas' quotations are particularly numerous in the volumes regarding the history of the archbishoprics of Salona (vols. 1–2) and Split (vol. 3) and Spalatin suffragan bishoprics (vol. 4), but some can be also found in vols. 5–7, containing the histories of other Dalmatian archbishoprics and bishoprics.

³¹ *Acta Sanctorum. Editio novissima*, ed. by Jean Baptiste Carnandet, vol. 11 (Paris–Rome: Palmé, 1866).

³² *Ibid.*, vol. 35 (1867).

the basis of V (which he erroneously believed to be the *codex unicus*).³³

Until recently, the edition closest to a critical one, and used as the standard, was the one prepared by Franjo Rački and posthumously published in 1894 (by Tadija Smičiklas but based exclusively on Rački's manuscript).³⁴ Rački did not succeed in giving it its final form, particularly regarding the critical apparatus and auxiliary remarks that would explain his ideas on the stemma of the codices. The *variae lectiones* were not regularly added, and, in spite of the fact that according to the introductory note the basis for the edition was S, even for the basic text Rački combined different manuscripts, using sometimes one and sometimes another, according to what seemed to be best to him. Rački's edition greatly surpasses all previous ones, especially because he added a great number of useful critical annotations, pointing to Thomas' sources and other data for corroborating his theses.³⁵

The new critical edition, the one used as the basis for this translation, was published in 2003, in two volumes. The first volume

³³ Lothar von Heinemann, "Ex rerum Ungaricarum scriptoribus saec. XIII," in *Monumenta Germaniae historica. Scriptores* 29, ed. by Georg Waitz *et al.* (Hanover: Hahne, 1892). See James Ross Sweeney, "Thomas of Spalato and the Mongols: a Thirteenth-Century Dalmatian View of Mongol Customs," *Florilegium* 2 (1980): 171–2.

³⁴ Thomas Archidiaconus. *Historia Salonitana*, ed. by Franjo Rački, *Monumenta spectantia historiam Slavorum meridionalium* 26, *Scriptores* 3 (Zagreb: JAZU, 1894) (henceforth: Rački, *Thomas*). As a *curiosum* it may be noted that Rački's edition is reprinted in full in the Supplement to vol. 16 (1988) of *Atti e Memorie della Società Dalmata di Storia Patria* of Venice; see A. Cocci, "Venezia e il mediadriatico nella 'Historia Salonitanorum pontificum atque Spalatensium' (1245–1251) di Tommaso da Spalato l'arcidiacono," *Clio* 34 (1998) 3: 368, n. 9.

³⁵ Rački was familiar also with the historical work entitled the *Historia Salonitana maior*, which was based on the HS (see below, pp. XLV–XLVI), and published certain parts of it as footnotes. For example, he published the acts of Salonitan and Spalatin synods of the sixth and the tenth centuries (Rački, *Thomas*, 12–8, 36–41).

contains a critical edition of the Latin text, and a Croatian translation with critical historical notes, and studies on manuscripts as well as on Thomas and his work. The second is a facsimile edition of the *Codex Spalatensis*. The Latin text was edited by Olga Perić based on S, and all other extant manuscripts were included as *variae lectiones*.³⁶

Besides these editions, there were some partial or complete translations. Some early chapters of the HS were published in Italian translation in 1843.³⁷ A translation of the entire work in Italian, based on Rački's edition, was undertaken by P. Fontana, and its text appeared serially in *Archivio storico per la Dalmazia*.³⁸ Károly Szabó published a Hungarian translation of the chapters concerning the Mongols (chapters 36–9) from the Lucius–Schwandtner edition.³⁹ In German, there is a translation of the chapters concerning the Mongols by Hans-Gerd Göckenjan and James Ross Sweeney.⁴⁰ Recently, an online partial translation of the HS was prepared by Ludwig Steindorff, based on Rački's edition.⁴¹ The first Croatian translation of the

³⁶ Toma (as above, n. 4).

³⁷ A. Barbiani and G. Cadorin, *Tommaso Arcidiacono della Chiesa di Spalato: Notizie di Salona, antica città della Dalmazia* (Venice, 1843). See Cocci, "Venezia e il medioadriatico," 368, n. 9.

³⁸ P. Fontana, "Tommaso Arcidiacono di Spalato, Storia dei vescovi salonitani e spalatini," *Archivio Storico per la Dalmazia* 27 (1939): 161–2; 28 (1939), 163–8; 29 (1940), 169–77. See also Cocci, "Venezia e il medioadriatico," 368, n. 9.

³⁹ "Tamás spalatói esperes '*Historia Salonitana*'-jaból a tatárjárás története (37–40 fejezet)," *Magyarország történetének forrásai*, I, 2, Budapest, 1861, 57–84. Since the author was following Lucius and Schwandtner, the numeration of the chapters in the article differs from the one later used by Rački and in this edition.

⁴⁰ Thomas von Spalato, "Geschichte der Bischöfe von Salona und Spalato vom hl. Domnius bis auf Rogerius (+ 1266) (cap. 36–9)," in *Der Mongolensturm* (Graz: Styria Verlag, 1985, Ungarns Geschichtsschreiber, 3), pp. 225–70.

⁴¹ <http://www.oeg.uni-kiel.de/Mat-Veranst/thomas.htm> Chapters 3–4, 8–14, 18, 21 and 33–5 are translated in full and chapters 7, 17, 24, 26 and 31–2 only partially.

entire work was by Vladimir Rismondo and published twice: in 1960 and 1977.⁴² The interest of Russian and Ukrainian historians in “Foma Splitskii” started as early as the nineteenth century. The first to translate the entire work was A. Krasovskij, whose text appeared serially in *Trudi Kievskoi dukhovnoi akademii* in 1876 and 1877;⁴³ this edition is now a bibliographical rarity. Some chapters of Thomas’ work in Russian translation were published also in 1978,⁴⁴ while a modern translation of the entire text with an introductory study and critical notes by Olga A. Akimova appeared in 1997.⁴⁵

THE AUTHOR

Thomas’ biography can be reconstructed from both his work (directly and indirectly) and other data. Even though the primary purpose of the HS was to describe the development of Spalatin ecclesiastical organization until his own time, with an emphasis on the events in which he personally participated, the last eighteen chapters contain many elements of an autobiography (or rather biography, because Thomas always speaks about himself in the third person).

⁴² Toma Arhidakon, *Kronika*, Izdanja Muzeja grada Splita 8 (Split: Muzej grada Splita, 1960); Toma Arhidakon, *Kronika* (Split: Čakavski sabor, 1977).

⁴³ A. Krasovskij, “Istoriiia salonskikh i spletskikh episkopov Fomi arkhidiakona Splitskogo,” *Trudi Kievskoi dukhovnoi akademii*, Kiev, 1876, t. 3, 557–622; t. 4, 73–117; t. 5, 703–47; 1877, t. 1, 504–49.

⁴⁴ Foma Splitskij, *Istorija arkhiepiskopov Saloni i Splita, Otrivki*, ed. by M. V. Berdonosov and A. E. Moskalenko (Moscow: Uchebno-metod. posobie, 1978), pp. 49–58.

⁴⁵ Foma Splitskij, *Istorija arkhiepiskopov Saloni i Splita*, ed. by Olga A. Akimova (Moscow: Institut slavianovedeniia i balkanistiki, 1997). The Latin text of this edition, based on Rački’s edition, was prepared by A. I. Solopov (pp. 231–319).

⁴⁶ Farlati, *Illyricum sacrum* 3, p. 258.

⁴⁷ Šegvić, *Toma Splicićanin*, pp. 42–3.

Older scholarship had different opinions regarding Thomas' origin, both social and ethnic. From Farlati⁴⁶ to Kerubin Šegvić,⁴⁷ he was seen as a member of an urban noble (patrician) family of Split. Farlati's sources for that statement are not known, but Šegvić reasoned that only a cleric from a noble family might strive for such high positions within the ecclesiastical hierarchy and play such an important role in the public life of the city as Thomas did. Franjo Rački, relying strictly on extant sources, laconically stated that Thomas' family is not known.⁴⁸ The ethnic element in the discussion was introduced at the very beginning of the twentieth century by Kršnjavi, who described Thomas as someone who hated Croats and Hungarians, and explained this by the fact that Thomas was "a Latin, who prided himself on it" and whose writing was highly influenced by his political allegiances.⁴⁹ Kršnjavi's way of reasoning is unfortunately still alive among the historians, as anachronistic as it may be.⁵⁰ A new element, this time social, was introduced by Nada Klaić, who explained Thomas' animosity towards the hinterland as a centuries-long (and in Dalmatia still existing) antagonism between the city and its rural surroundings, conceding at the same time that Thomas might even have been a Croat.⁵¹

⁴⁸ Franjo Rački, "Ocjena starijih izvora za hrvatsku i srbsku poviest srednjega vieka" [Evaluation of older sources for Croatian and Serbian history of the Middle Ages], *Književnik* 1 (1864): 358–88.

⁴⁹ Kršnjavi, "Prilozi historiji salonitani," p. 147. It is noteworthy that Kršnjavi himself was a politician of pro-Hungarian political stance, which sometimes influenced his writings.

⁵⁰ See, for example, the otherwise valuable study of Lujo Margetić, "Historia Salonitana i Historia Salonitana Maior—neka pitanja" [*Historia Salonitana* and *Historia Salonitana maior*—certain issues], *Historijski zbornik* 47 (1994) 1: 1–36.

⁵¹ Nada Klaić, *Povijest Hrvata u ranom srednjem vijeku* [A history of the Croats in the Early Middle Ages] (Zagreb: Školska knjiga, 1971), p. 23; Idem, *Povijest Hrvata u razvijenom srednjem vijeku* [A history of the Croats in the High Middle Ages] (Zagreb: Školska knjiga, 1976), p. 208.

Thomas was born in 1200 or 1201,⁵² and his funerary monument records that he died on May 8, 1268. He was buried in the Franciscan church of Split. The slab has no other decoration than the inscription in Latin verses expressing Thomas' proximity to Franciscan views.⁵³

Since during Thomas' childhood and youth the school of Master Treguanus flourished in Split, Thomas may have acquired his first education and directions for further learning in contact with him and Archbishop Bernard (1200–17). The pontificate of Archbishop Bernard, and the time of Treguanus' teaching of grammar in Split and afterwards serving as archdeacon and finally the bishop of Trogir (1206–54), marked an active period of cultural life in both cities. Despite unsettled political events, the age witnessed extraordinary masterpieces of Romanesque artistic expressions, both pictorial and architectural (Masters Buvina, Otto and Radovan).⁵⁴ Thomas testifies about the role of both prelates in these processes.⁵⁵ He speaks about them with particular respect and admiration. Both of them were from Italy: Bernard from Peruggia, Treguanus from Florence. Before becoming archbishop, Bernard was a teacher of the king of Hungary. He was also a scholar, who—according to Thomas—spent thirty years in Bologna. Treguanus came to Split

⁵² Thomas himself stated in chapter 31 of the HS that he was elected as archdeacon in 1230 (*anno domini millesimo ducentesimo tricesimo*) and that this was in his thirtieth year (*tricesimo etatis sue anno*); however, since the exact dating of any of these events is not known, he may have been born in 1200 or 1201.

⁵³ The slab still exists, but the inscription is now hardly readable. However, Kerubin Šegvić transcribed it in the 1920s (*Toma Splićanin*, p. 120):

Doctrinam, Christe, docet Archidiaconus iste / Thomas, hanc tenuit, moribus et docuit: / Mundum sperne, fuge viciū, carnem preme, luge / pro vite fruge, lubrica lucra fuge. / Spaletumque dedit ortum, quo vita recedit. / Dum mors succedit vite, mea gloria cedit. / Hic me vermis edit, sic iuri mortis obedit, / Corpus quod ledit, animamve qui sibi credit. / A. D. MCCLXVIII, mense Madii, octavo die intrante.

⁵⁴ For more information and relevant literature, see MMS, pp. 27–32.

⁵⁵ See below, ch. 23–4.

at Bernard's call. In 1203, he rewrote "The Life of St. John, the Bishop of Trogir,"⁵⁶ and his role in the building of the portal of Trogir's cathedral is commemorated by an inscription on the portal itself.⁵⁷ The atmosphere created by these two men must have impressed young Thomas, directing him to go for further education to one of the most prestigious institutions of learning of the time—Bologna.

At that time Bologna was in the first place a center of legal studies. The choice of Bologna was thus significant for Thomas' activity after the return to his native city, at that time torn apart by different external and internal tensions. As an attentive observer, Thomas had learned much from the political events and social processes of that time in Italian cities. He witnessed the struggle of the communes against popes and emperors, struggles among the cities themselves, the creation of new systems of government in cities that were influenced by new social and economic conditions, but also the struggle between papal and imperial power. He also witnessed the beginnings of the new mendicant orders: in Bologna he listened to a sermon of St. Francis.⁵⁸ During his stay in Bologna, Thomas might have become acquainted with several

⁵⁶ "Život svetoga Ivana Trogirskoga" [The Life of St. John of Trogir], ed. by Milan Ivanišević, in Vedran Gligo and Hrvoje Morović (eds.), *Legende i kronike* [Readings on the saints and chronicles] (Split: Čakavski sabor, 1977), pp. 59–121.

⁵⁷ The inscription still exists: ... ANNO MILLENO DUCENO BISQUE UICENO PRESULE TUSCANO FLORIS EX URBE TREGUANO... See Josip Stošić, *Trogirska katedrala i njezin zapadni portal* [The cathedral of Trogir and its western portal], and Ivo Babić (ed.), *Majstor Radovan i njegovo doba. Zbornik radova međunarodnog znanstvenog skupa održanog u Trogiru 26–30. rujna 1990. godine* [Master Radovan and his time. Proceedings of the international scholarly conference held in Trogir 26–30 September 1990] (Trogir: Muzej grada Trogira, 1994), p. 84.

⁵⁸ See below, ch. 26. It is, in fact, the first place in the chronicle where Thomas mentions himself and the only place where he refers to himself in the first person: from chapter 31 onwards he constantly refers to his activity, but always in the third person.

men of scholarship and politics, such as Petrus de Vinea,⁵⁹ John of Viterbo⁶⁰ and Paul of Dalmatia (Ungarus),⁶¹ but also Roger, later the archbishop of Split, to whom he was a close cooperator as archdeacon.⁶² Thomas would apply all the experiences received there to his political activity after his return to Split, and he would also include them in the HS.⁶³

Contemporary records from the medieval archives of Split and Trogir attest that Thomas was a notary public in Split from 1227 to 1232,⁶⁴ at first as a clerk and after 1230 as archdeacon. Thomas does not write about this period of his life in the HS. Still, from other sources it is evident that he succeeded the Spalatin notary Sabatius in this office. Only one charter that he wrote is extant in its original form, two others in later copies. Diplomatic analysis

⁵⁹ Petrus de Vinea, died 1249, was one of the most prominent counselors of Emperor Frederick II. His epistolary was influential on the development of Latin prose. See Jakov Stipišić, “Zagrebački rukopis epistolara Petra de Vineis” [Zagreb manuscript of the Epistolary of Petrus de Vinea], *Zbornik Historijskog instituta JAZU* 4 (1961): 405–21.

⁶⁰ John of Viterbo, a *podestà* of Florence, wrote the *Liber de regimine civitatum* around 1228. This manual apparently influenced Thomas’ attempt at establishing the Regimen Latinorum in Split and his description of Gargano’s administration.

⁶¹ Paul of Dalmatia or Ungarus (ca. 1190–1255) was professor of law in Bologna and the first provincial of the Dominicans in Hungary and Croatia. See Stjepan Krasić, “‘Fr. Paulus Hungarus seu ut alii volunt, Dalmata O.P.’ Jedna zanimljiva ličnost iz XIII st.” [‘Fr. Paulus Hungarus seu ut alii volunt, Dalmata O.P.’ An interesting thirteenth-century personality], *Prilozi za istraživanje hrvatske filozofske baštine* 4 (1978) 7–8: 131–56.

⁶² For more on Roger, see Franz Babinger, “Maestro Ruggiero delle Puglie re-latore prepoliano sui Tatai,” in Roberto Almagia *et al.* (eds.), *Nel 7. centenario della nascita di Marco Polo* (Venice: Istituto veneto di scienze, lettere ed arti, 1955), pp. 51–61.

⁶³ The application of models studied there was relatively easy, since the situation of Split, where encroachments of both the king of Hungary and neighboring Croatian magnates, on the one hand, and internal dissension, on the other, created a potential and a real danger for the development of communal independence, was quite similar to that of Italian communes.

⁶⁴ CD 3: 267, 301, 365.

shows that he still used the old formula of *completio* (*complevi*), that he combined elements of *carta* and *noticia*, and that he introduced in Split the custom that the *signum notarii* should become a permanent element of diplomatic formulae of corroboration. Thomas' performance of his duties as notary shows the influence of his studies in Bologna, where he probably studied besides Roman law also the *ars notaria*, which just at that time had become a permanent part of the curriculum.⁶⁵ Thomas' good knowledge of notarial customs and practices is also visible in his history, where his diplomatic skills are evident in his use of diplomatic material as a historical source.⁶⁶

While retelling his election as archdeacon, Thomas emphasizes with pride the fact that it was performed in complete concord (*in summa concordia*) in the thirtieth year of his life. It is with this event that Thomas' ascendancy in the ecclesiastical hierarchy starts, as well as his role in everything happening in Split. Consequently, from that point on, he also becomes one of the protagonists of the HS.⁶⁷

Soon after the election, evidently because of his reforming zeal and loyalty to the pope, Thomas came into conflict with Archbishop Guncel (1220–42). He himself dedicated large sections of his work to these stormy events. It seems that they directed all his later actions, which brought him ups and downs on the scale of social hierarchy, public acceptance and rejection. Although he won the first conflict with the archbishop both morally and formally, the latter still remained in office, and relations among them never became cordial. Another of Thomas' victories, this time over the political factions within the commune and neighboring magnates

⁶⁵ Jakov Stipišić, "Razvoj splitske notarske kancelarije" [Development of the notarial chancery of Split], *Zbornik Historijskog instituta JAZU* 1 (1954): 117–9.

⁶⁶ For more, see Mirjana Matijević Sokol, "Starohrvatski Solin u Kronici Tome Arhiđakona" [Early Medieval Solin in the *Chronicle* of Thomas the Archdeacon], *Vjesnik za arheologiju i historiju dalmatinsku* 85 (1992): 83–90.

⁶⁷ See below, ch. 31.

interested in obtaining the position of counts in Split, was the introduction of the model of Latin government in 1239. Thomas was instrumental in the election of the first *podestà*, Gargano de Arscindis of Ancona, who held the office for three continuous years from 1239 to 1242. According to Thomas' description, that period was a time of order in the city, particularly important for the codification of city legal norms and customs. It is most likely that this project was carried out under Thomas' influence and probably with his direct participation, because he was both versed in legal theory and well acquainted with local legal practice and customs, although he does not say so explicitly. In all respects, Gargano's governance was, at least as Thomas presents it, successful, thus justifying Thomas' involvement in secular matters.⁶⁸

In spite of that, further development did not lead to the success that Thomas expected. Although the death of Archbishop Guncel opened a window of opportunity for him, the departure of Gargano de Arscindis, the Mongol invasion and tensions between Split and King Béla IV (or, rather, Queen Mary)⁶⁹ hindered his election as archbishop.⁷⁰ He was rejected as such both by the court and, above all, by the Spalatin laity.⁷¹ This was probably a moment that influenced his decision to use his education for the defense of his own person, by including the justification of his actions in his work, giving to it personal and sometimes rather subjective overtones.⁷²

⁶⁸ See below, ch. 33–6.

⁶⁹ See MMS, pp. 290–302. Thomas was a staunch opponent of everything coming from the royal court, but not because it was Hungarian, as has been implied in scholarship, but because he considered it detrimental to communal interests.

⁷⁰ See below, ch. 44–5.

⁷¹ In the ecclesiastical sphere, Thomas was a zealous supporter of views rejecting any involvement of the laity in ecclesiastical matters (this negative attitude being common among the educated clergy of that time), and was thus constantly in conflict with locals and neighboring nobility interested in having their say in ecclesiastical matters.

⁷² Thomas defines himself as *amator iustitie et nequitie detestator* (ch. 31), while his evaluations of many of his contemporaries and events are less flattering.

Although deeply hurt, Thomas withdrew neither from communal nor from ecclesiastical policy. Thus, he was several times Spalatin envoy to the royal court (in 1244 and 1261) and he represented the chapter of Split in litigation regarding some property with the monastery of St. Stephen in Split, as well as acting as an ecclesiastical arbiter in several lawsuits, particularly in the one between Bishop Treguanus of Trogir and Archpriest Stanimir of Šibenik.⁷³ Together with the famous Franciscan preacher Gerard of Modena and his companions Paul and Andrew, he participated in peacemaking between Split and Trogir, and several times performed delicate missions for Pope Innocent IV (1254–61).⁷⁴ After the death of Archbishop Roger (1250–66), whom he respected more than his immediate predecessors, he, himself relatively old, withdrew from public life and apparently dedicated himself to finishing his historical work.

THE LATIN OF THE HS

The Latin language of the HS is good medieval Latin, which unites several layers: Classical Latin, Late Classical and Christian Latin, and certain aspects of local, Dalmatian, Latinity, with the usual departures from Classical Latin in certain aspects, which were in Thomas' time already established as norms. Thus, regarding orthography, Thomas is, for example, consistent in his monophthongisation, writing of sibilized *-ti* and epentetic *-p-*. Some of the orthographic characteristics are in their foundation Romanisms, as would be expected regarding

⁷³ On the last events there is no reference in the HS. For more, see Danko Zelić, "Arhidakon Toma i Šibenik, *Historia i res gestae*" [Archdeacon Thomas and Šibenik: *Historia* and *res gestae*], in Mirjana Matijević Sokol and Olga Perić, *Toma Arhidakon i njegovo doba. Zbornik radova sa znanstvenog skupa održanog 25–27. rujna 2000. godine u Splitu* [Archdeacon Thomas and his time. Proceedings of the scholarly conference held 25–27 September 2000 in Split], Biblioteka Knjiga Mediterana 35 (Split: Književni krug, 2004), pp. 197–234.

⁷⁴ MMS, pp. 41–2.

Thomas' origin in the bilingual milieu of Split and the influence of his education in Bologna.⁷⁵

Similar conclusions can be drawn also regarding the morpho-syntaxis of the HS. Morphosyntactic departures from the Classical norm are visible in the use of synthetically formed complex passive forms, the use of gerunds instead of participles, the switch from the *accusativus cum infinitivo* to declarative sentences with the copula *quod*, and the use of the subjunctive, which is inconsistent and uncertain. However, the HS shows also certain syntactic peculiarities. One of them is the domination of parataxis over hypotaxis, that is, of independent clauses over dependent ones, probably because of Biblical influences. For parataxis is characteristically a series of independent clauses starting with the copula (*et ...*) and with verbs at the beginning of a sentence, as well as the frequent use of present participles, dependent participles instead of the *ablativus absolutus*, and so on. Dependent clauses (temporal, consecutive, causal, conditional and comparative) are basically structured on the system of Classical Latin, with only some slight departures in the use of the subjunctive, but the sentences are usually shorter.⁷⁶

The vocabulary of the HS also falls within similar parameters. The Christian lexical corpus is evident through Graecisms that

⁷⁵ For a detailed discussion of characteristics of Thomas' Latin orthography, see further Olja Perić, "Neke jezične osobitosti djela 'Historia Salonitana'" [Some linguistic peculiarities of the *Historia Salonitana*], *Živa antika* 32 (1982): 93–103, and Olga Perić, *Jezik i stilske osobitosti u djelu Tome Arhidakona* [The language and stylistic characteristics of the work of Thomas the Archdeacon] (Zagreb: Faculty of Arts, unpublished Ph.D. Thesis, 1989), p. 22.

⁷⁶ For these characteristics, see further the following: Olja Perić, "Složeni pasivni oblici u djelu 'Historia Salonitana'" [Complex passive forms in the *Historia Salonitana*], *Živa antika* 30 (1980): 113–8; Idem, "O morfosintaksi srednjovjekovnog latinskog u djelu Tome Arhidakona splitskog" [Regarding the morpho-syntaxis of medieval Latin in the work of Archdeacon Thomas of Split], *Suvremena lingvistika* 21–22 (1980–1): 3–18; Perić, *Jezik*, pp. 23–46.

became the common property of Christian Latinity (such as *ecclesia*, *presbyter*, and so on), neologisms created on the basis of the Bible (*zelus*, *zelare*), loan words from the Classical repertory, but with new Christian meaning (*gentilitas* = heathenism, *informatio* = teaching, *pontifex* = bishop, pope, *carnalis* = secular, and so on). Thomas is also using characteristic medieval forms, such as adjectives formed with *-bilis* and adverbs with *-biliter*. In these cases the overwhelming influence of the Vulgate and other Christian writers, which formed the educational foundation for the author, is also visible.⁷⁷

AIMS, GENRE, STYLE AND METHODS

Thomas' aim was to write a history of the church of Split in order to prove that it was legally and justly the heir of the metropolitan rights of Salona and to glorify its past, but also to justify his own politics. Because of the fact that there were these two reasons for writing, the HS has a somewhat two-fold character, that of a historical work—while discussing the older period—and that of memoirs—while discussing the one in which he personally participated in the public events.

This ambiguity of the HS is also reflected in the definition of its genre: whether it should be described as a “chronicle” or a “history.” According to the usage of medieval writers, the introductory sentence gives both the title and the definition of the text: *Incipit historia Salonitanorum atque Spalatinorum pontificum*.⁷⁸ Thus, Thomas himself chose the word *historia* for his narration of past events, along the lines defined by Isidore, the author whom Thomas knew and several times quoted in his

⁷⁷ Perić, Jezik, pp. 47–124.

⁷⁸ The first folio is missing in S. All other manuscripts use the terms *historia* or *istoria* for describing the HS, while T has *ystoria seu coronica*. It is generally considered to be an addition of the copyist.

own work.⁷⁹ However, regarding its content, that is, the main protagonists, the HS would be best placed in the literary category of *gesta episcoporum*, where the history of an ecclesiastical institution is presented through the description of the activity of persons who were at its head.⁸⁰

Thomas was apparently well acquainted with the rules for writing this kind of medieval literature, and tried to follow them deliberately.⁸¹ One of the more important rules for such a genre was that it should be written based on the works from Classical Antiquity and early Christian writers, on the one hand, and archival sources, on the other. However, another requirement—that of straightforward development of the story—was not fully accomplished in the HS. Thus, the *narratio rei gestae* very frequently develops into two parallel and intertwined lines. Still, Thomas was evidently aware of that, and whenever he “deviated” from the main theme—that is, from narrating the activity of the Spalatin pontifices—he always came back to it with expressions such as *ad propositum redeamus*, where *propositum* meant the main thread, that is, the rhetorical thesis.

However, unlike most of the *gesta*, the HS was written in the Late Middle Ages, when other stylistic forms also existed and became dominant. That they influenced Thomas as a writer is particularly visible in the second half of the HS, when he is describing events of his own times and he takes far more liberties in composing the text. This is particularly seen in the intentional moralizing and using of the both distant and recent past

⁷⁹ *Historia* is for Isidore “*narratio rei gestae, per quam ea, quae in praeterito facta sunt, dinoscuntur.*” (*Etym.* 1,41) [Toma, p. 387].

⁸⁰ On this literary genre, see the following: Michel Sot, *Gesta episcoporum, gesta abbatum* (Turnhout: Brepols, 1981); Patrick J. Geary, *Phantoms of Remembrance, Memory and Oblivion at the End of the First Millennium* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1994), p. 96 *et passim*.

⁸¹ Among the authors who wrote *gesta*, Thomas was apparently acquainted with the work of Adam of Bremen (see below, p. 36, n. 1) and the *Liber pontificalis*, which he uses in the HS (see below, ch. 4, p. 21, n. 7 and ch. 8, p. 44, n. 2).

for the justification of his own ideas, characteristic for twelfth- and thirteenth-century writers.⁸²

Another reason for Thomas' mixing of genres is contained in the fact that the HS covers a long time period and discusses the development of the Spalatin church from Christian Antiquity to the times contemporary to Thomas; thus, his approach to the writing of specific segments clearly could not be the same throughout. There may be distinguished three main parts of the HS. In the first part, that is, the Salonitan period of ecclesiastical organization, Thomas is reconstructing events based on those writers whom medieval authors recognized as an integral part of their own culture. The second part, that is, the early period of ecclesiastical organization in Split, is discussed mainly in the form of the memorial record (*libri traditionum*), based on diplomatic evidence (mostly charters and papal letters). The third period, that is, the period more or less contemporary to Thomas, was partly written on the basis of oral tradition still living through the account of his older contemporaries and partly written from his own memories, with a strong autobiographical bias.

Regarding Thomas' stylistics, they are mostly based on two main sources: Isidore of Seville and the Bible. The importance of both of them is implicit in the HS. Isidore is, in fact, the first author mentioned in the HS, in the very first sentence of the work, by which Thomas acknowledged his role as the keeper of all contemporary knowledge. As to the Bible, in Thomas's case there is even a direct reference to a specific copy: "a whole Bible together with commentaries and glosses" brought to Split by Archbishop Ugrinus from his studies in Paris, which Thomas might have been using himself.⁸³

⁸² For these characteristics of historiography contemporary to Thomas, see Robert N. Swanson, *The Twelfth-Century Renaissance* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1999), pp. 54–65, esp. pp. 57–8.

⁸³ See below, ch. 45, p. 357.

The style of the Vulgate, primarily aimed at making people acquainted with Christian doctrine, and also that of the encyclopedic work of Isidore, were good stylistic paragons for the HS, which both by its topic and principal genre (*gesta*) fitted into a similar ideological concept. Thomas' stylistics were also determined by the rules and conventions of rhetoric. It is evident from the rhetorical instruments (*flores, colores rhetorici*) prescribed by the *ars dictaminis* in numerous manuals, a number of which Thomas frequently used. Thus, he used different kinds of repetition of various syntactical units (sentences, words and their parts, voices), as one of the most important rhetorical figures for acquiring greater expressiveness. The first of such cases was the use of alliteration (*coadunato capitulo et clero ecclesie*) and assonance (*statimque attoniti naute confusis clamoribus ad armamenta velorum manus accurunt apponere annitentes ...*); there is also anaphora, with antithesis (*Alii erant nimis timidi, alii plus equo securi*) or with gradation, but also independently. A very frequent figure is homeoteleuton (*spectaculum miserabile mulierum crines lacerantium*), usually combined with other figures to strengthen effects of antithesis, parallelism, rhyme, and so on, then polyptoton (*nec pater inquirebat filium neque filius patrem, uxor non respiciebat maritum, nec maritus uxorem*), synonymy (*vir constans et intrepidus, fortis et bellax, circumspexus et providus, providus et discretus, tristis et merens, astutus et calidus*), hyperbaton (*multis lacessitus iniuriis*), figura etymologica (*pacem facere, factamque fideliter observare*), and so on.⁸⁴ Through the wide repertoire of such rhetorical figures, the effect of rhyming was achieved, and there were, moreover, emphasized characteristics of Thomas' bipolar understanding of the world, based on the juxtaposition of good and evil, Christ and Satan, light and darkness, and so on.⁸⁵

⁸⁴ See Perić, Jezik, pp. 125–44.

⁸⁵ Such a style was exactly in Thomas' time defined as the fourth style for writing (*genus mixtum sive compositum*) or the so-called Isidorian style. The rhyme achieved by the aforementioned repetitiveness of parts of words, words, sentences and so on, by its simplicity resembles the works of Isidore and those

This conflict of two principles was also a means for Thomas to establish cause and effect also by use of other instruments, the most important of them being the parallelisms from the literature in which he was educated, in the first place the Bible. This can be particularly well demonstrated with the example of his description of the fall of Salona. The city before the catastrophe is depicted almost as a recurrence of Sodom and Gomorrah, as well as of Babylon, through the destruction of which there ends the old order, so that the new order may be established the new one in a new place, all this in a sequence rooted in cause and effect. Venus (*improba Venus*) as sublimated allegory of Sodom and Gomorrah, that is, the reason for downfall, was a frequent figure of medieval literature, symbolizing frivolity, sexuality, fornication and all the other aspects of perverted life. On the other hand, Biblical instruments of the Apocalypse—comets, eclipses of the sun and the moon,⁸⁶ and so on—figure in the HS portending the Mongol incursion, which is, although to a lesser degree than was the case with some other contemporary authors, in itself perceived as the beginning of the end of the world. However, in Thomas' case it might be not only a general reflection, but also an allusion to the failure of both the communal experiment and his own failure to become the archbishop, which were both results of a series of unfavorable circumstances triggered by that incursion.

Another motif borrowed from the Biblical repertory is that of the good shepherd tending his flock, used primarily for Jesus Christ.⁸⁷ Thomas applies this allegory to the archbishops of

written in this style, as opposed to the works of the authors who followed the system of rules embodied in the *cursus*. However, Thomas' choice of this style is not usual, because chronicles, histories, hagiographical and similar works were generally written in the so-called *sermo simplex*, while Thomas' prose belongs to a higher and more developed stylistic system. For more, see Robert Curtius, *European Literature and the Latin Middle Ages* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1973), pp. 148–54.

⁸⁶ Rev. 6: 12–3.

⁸⁷ John 10–1, 14 *et passim*.

Split, but also to secular princes, showing in that manner also his own attitude towards them. Thus, Archbishop Lawrence is a *bonus pastor*, and Archbishop Crescentius is a *pastor ydoneus*, while Guncel is not so: ... *quia non ut pastor bonus, qui animam solam ponit pro ovibus suis, sed insidianti lupo opponeret, sed ...* The Mongols are successful in their military onslaught, particularly because the Hungarians are like sheep without a shepherd (... *quasi gregem sine pastore ...*).

A characteristic of Thomas' style that mostly shows the influence of Classical Antiquity is his use of fictitious speeches by heroes addressing their soldiers before battles and encouraging them to fight. Pictures used in the whole content of such speeches are *loci communes* of Classical Latin and Greek literature, because for a hero it is desirable and expected to have also a spiritual component, partly expressed exactly through his rhetorical skills, modeled on Classical heroes such as Nestor and Ulysses. Thus, the speech of the one-eyed warrior leading the Spalatins in the fight against the men of Cetina is an introduction to their victory. The speech in itself is rather timeless, resembling Caesar's speeches held in front of his army during the Civil War, as well as speeches of other commanders of the Civil War.⁸⁸ Of a similar timeless type is also the speech of the Mongol leader Batu, while the speech of Stephen, the Spalatin commander on Brač, encouraging his companions to fight an enemy more experienced in military matters, has a very explicit Christian character emphasizing reliance on the help of God and St. Domnius, but also their fighting for the just cause in the defense of Christianity.

Thomas also uses several other figures as both stylistic and cognitive means. Thus, he combines allegory with analogy, relying in the first place on the Classical repertory. The image of Cadmus, a Greek king who was transformed into a snake (*serpens*) and who settled in Dalmatia, who became a most cruel

⁸⁸ Caesar, *De bello civili* I, cap. 85; II, cap. 31–2; III, cap. 6.

pirate (*pirata sevissimus*) and as a slithering serpent (*lubricus angvis*) attacks the weak, thus becomes a prefiguration of the pirate Osor, who escaped captivity like a slippery eel (*angvilla lubrica*).

Another figure, etymologizing as a way of thinking,⁸⁹ is also present in the HS. Thomas is thus etymologizing while explaining geographical names (*Adria*, *Spalatum*) and personal ones (*Fuscus*), but also while explaining fate on the basis of names (as in the story of the Mongols and Pest) conforming to the dictum of Hildebert of Lavardin *Nomen enim verum dat definitio rerum*.⁹⁰

Another method which is for Thomas both stylistic and cognitive is his use of homonymy and homophony. Thus, individuals of the same or similar names are frequently conflated, but sometimes also divided into several; such was the case with Domnius and Domnio. John of Ravenna is basically created on the basis of several other archbishops named John. However, it remains unclear how much these cases are the result of deliberate mystification of anything that Thomas did not want to explain clearly, and how much they were just erroneous conclusions resulting from his sincere attempts to reconstruct the past event.

THE HS AS A SOURCE FOR HISTORICAL DATA

Older scholarship, starting with Johannes Lucius, completely trusted the HS as a historical source, taking Thomas' statements at more or less face value. Such an attitude, typical for time, disregards both the *causa scribendi* and the conventions of medieval history writing. Thomas wrote the HS for a major purpose—the proof of his church's ancient rights and of his

⁸⁹ See Curtius, *European Literature*, pp. 495–500.

⁹⁰ Quoted by Curtius, *European Literature*, p. 498.

own politics, as mentioned above—and his work was to a great extent defined by the genre of *gesta episcoporum*, to say nothing of his own personal preferences. Thus, the value of his data for establishing historical facts depends on these aspects as well as on the methods that he applied to writing history.

The first chapters, borrowed from older narrative sources, say, of course, nothing on the early history of Dalmatia, but rather of the author's access to authorities, maybe of local beliefs about ancient times (occasionally built around remnants of the past, such as ruins or speculations on names). There are, however, exceptions also in the early chapters, such as the history of Archbishops Natalis and Maxim of Salona, written on the basis of the correspondence of Pope Gregory the Great, apparently known to Thomas, but better known from other sources.

The data on the downfall of Salona and the early settlement of the Croats are also without relevance for the events themselves. They are basically the result of Thomas' construction, based on different sources, not least on Biblical parallels, as mentioned above. On the other hand, many elements of the early medieval history of Split and Croatia are compiled from charters held in Thomas' time in the archiepiscopal archive of Split. Since many of them still exist, Thomas' summary of them can be checked by means of reference to the originals, and he proves to be a rather reliable witness. Consequently, the details of those few now lost but mentioned in the HS are valuable additions to our knowledge of the period. True, he regarded quite a few as authentic, which modern scholarship demonstrated to be forgeries, but he may not have known that.

The last eighteen chapters, describing events contemporary to Thomas, including those of an autobiographical character, describe a great number of events and their details, which are not known from any other narrative. A good part of these data can also be corroborated, at least by inference, through other

documents, and they seem to be—as far as the interests and biases of the author permitted—faithfully recorded. Most of them refer to the ecclesiastical and urban history of Split and its neighborhood, but the reports on the Fourth and the Fifth Crusade and, above all, on the Mongol invasion of 1241–2, are based on personal experience or on eyewitness reports. While the lively details of inner-city conflicts and skirmishes in the region allow the reader to imagine the scenes “as if being there” (obviously told to Thomas by participants), the description of the Tatars is a characteristic mixture of topical perceptions of “the other” and reports of victims of their cruelty (among whom his own archbishop, Roger, described his sufferings in a moving lament).⁹¹

THE HS AND ITS READERS

The reception and influence of the HS on local historiography were ambivalent. On the one hand, there was no continuator of his work or, at least, no follower who would resemble Thomas in literary skills. There were two historians in fourteenth-century Split, Micha Madii de Barbazanis⁹² and the so-called A Cutheis,⁹³ but their works do not show any direct influence of the HS either in composition, in content or in style. On the other hand, the HS left traces in different kinds of writings and on different levels. There is no doubt that the so-called *Pacta conventa* was created relying on chapter 17 (*Qualiter Hungari ceperunt dominium Dalmatie et Chroatie*) of the HS, which may

⁹¹ Rogerius, *Carmen miserabile super destructione regni Hungarie temporibus Bele IV regis per Tartaros facta*, ed. by László Juhász, in *SRA* 2: 543–88.

⁹² Micha Madii de Barbazanis, *Historia de gestis Romanorum imperatorum et summorum pontificum*, in Lucius (Lučić), *De regno*, pp. 371–80; Idem, in Schwandtner, *Scriptores*, p. 653.

⁹³ A Cutheis, *Summa historiarum tabula a Cutheis de gestis civium Spalatino-rum sive Spalatensium in Dalmatia...*, in Lucius, *De regno*, pp. 381–6; Idem, in Schwandtner, *Scriptores*, pp. 654–61.

be seen from the fact that certain sentences are directly taken from this chapter. Besides that, the oldest exemplar of the *Pacta conventa* is precisely the one written in the *Codex Traguriensis* (T) of the HS and as an appendix to Thomas' history.⁹⁴ In a similar way, chapter 21 (*De Raynerio archiepiscopo*) was the model for the compiler of St. Rainer's Croatian vernacular *vita*, the main parts of which are almost verbatim translations of Thomas' text.⁹⁵ The same chapter was apparently known to Master George of Dalmatia in the fifteenth century, when he made the relief with the depiction of the saint's martyrdom.⁹⁶

A peculiar case regarding the impact of the HS is that of a work related to it usually called *Historia Salonitana maior*. It was discovered by Farlati (who also gave it its name) in the Archive of the Congregation De propaganda fide in Rome. Farlati also gave it a detailed description.⁹⁷ The work is known in several copies in the archives and libraries of Rome, Split and Vienna, the aforementioned one being the oldest among them. It closely follows the text of Thomas' work until 1185, but is important because in it are included transcripts of otherwise unknown documents for the earliest period of Croatian history, such as the acts of tenth-century Spalatin synods.⁹⁸ The majority of scholars maintained that the manuscript was made later, in the sixteenth century.⁹⁹ Even if it is not an immediate copy of

⁹⁴ For the text of the *Pacta conventa*, see CD 2, doc. 5, pp. 8–9. See also above, n. 7.

⁹⁵ "Život svetoga Arnira," ed. by Cvito Fisković, in Vedran Gligo and Hrvoje Morović (eds.), *Legende i kronike* [Readings on the saints and chronicles] (Split: Čakavski sabor, 1977), pp. 123–47.

⁹⁶ "Život svetoga Arnira," p. 127. For the photographs of the relief, see Cvito Fisković, *Juraj Dalmatinac* [George of Dalmatia] (Zagreb: Zora, 1963), tab. 58–60.

⁹⁷ Farlati, *Illyricum sacrum* 1, pp. 319–20; 2, pp. 161–77; 3, p. 283.

⁹⁸ The critical edition of this work is that of Nada Klaić, *Historia Salonitana maior* (Belgrade: SANU, 1967).

⁹⁹ For more details, see MMS, pp. 11–24.

Thomas' work, it is clearly derivative of it and thus testifies to the popularity of the HS in sixteenth-century Dalmatia.¹⁰⁰

The HS was also used by Andrea Dandolo for his *Chronicon Venetum*.¹⁰¹

Taking it into account that several *codices* of the HS are now known, it may be concluded that Thomas' work was relatively well known in the cultural circles of central Dalmatia, most certainly in Šibenik, in the fourteenth and the fifteenth centuries. The influence of the HS is visible in several places of the work *De situ Illyriae et civitate Sibenici* of George Šižgorić, a humanist of Šibenik (1420–1509), although he does not acknowledge it in this work.¹⁰² In similar manner the influence of the HS may be seen in the work *De situ orae Illyrici* of the humanist Paladio Fusco of Padua (1450–1520), who spent a number of years in Dalmatia (in Šibenik, Trogir and Zadar).¹⁰³ He apparently used

¹⁰⁰ Stjepan Gunjača, in his: "Historia Salonitana Maior," *Rad JAZU* 283 (1951): 175–243, created confusion by considering this work to be a copy of Thomas' concept, but Nada Klaić, in her "Način na koji je nastajalo djelo Historia Salonitana Maior" [How the historical work *Historia Salonitana Maior* was created], *Vjesnik za arheologiju i historiju dalmatinsku* 72–73 (1979): 171–98, and Margetić in "Historia Salonitana," 1–36 rejected the hypothesis. However, historians were less united regarding the value of interpolated documents and their evaluation. Thus, some totally rejected them as later fabrications, while the majority have accepted them as trustworthy to a greater or lesser extent. For the first opinion, see I. Lucius, *Inscriptiones Dalmaticae*, 73, and Ivo Babić, "Split'ske uspomene na salonitanske kršćanske starine" [Split's memoirs on Salonitan Christian Antiquity], *Vjesnik za arheologiju u historiju dalmatinsku* 85 (1992): 15, 35–6. For the second one, the analysis of Franjo Rački is still characteristic. See Franjo Rački, *Documenta historiae chroaticae periodum antiquam illustrantia* (Zagreb: JAZU, 1877), p. 197.

¹⁰¹ *Chronicon Venetum*, in Lodovico Antonio Muratori (ed.), *Rerum Italicarum Scriptores*, 12 (Milan, 1728), pp. 264–5.

¹⁰² Juraj Šižgorić Šibenčanin, *O smještaju Ilirije i o gradu Šibeniku* [Regarding the position of Illyria and the city of Šibenik], ed. by Veljko Gortan (Šibenik: Muzej grada Šibenika, 1981).

¹⁰³ Paladije Fusco, *Opis obale Ilirika* [Description of the coast of Illyria], ed. by Bruna Kuntić-Makvić and Miroslav Kurelac (Zagreb: Latina & Graeca, 1990).

the HS even more extensively than Šižgorić did. Thomas was apparently used also by Louis Crijević Tuberon (Tubero), a humanist from Dubrovnik, in his *Commentarii de temporibus suis*; his description of the Mongol invasion is in parts an almost verbatim rendering of the HS.¹⁰⁴

The first author who directly acknowledged that he used Thomas was the Dominican Vincent Pribojević of Hvar. In his speech *Oratione de origine successibusque Slauorum Phari habita MDXXV*, Pribojević refers to Thomas (whom he calls Thomas Spalatinus) and his work (styled as *De euersione Salonarum*); however, the data that he takes from the HS are rather associative and carelessly used.¹⁰⁵ The historian Mauro Orbini of Dubrovnik also used Thomas' data, but he apparently took them from Pribojević's speech and not directly.¹⁰⁶

However, the situation profoundly changed after Lucius' *editio princeps* of 1666. With that, the HS became the intellectual property of historians, philologists, and literary scholars everywhere.

THE PRESENT EDITION

As usual in this series, this volume contains (always on the left-hand page) the best available Latin text, published recently by Olga Perić and Mirjana Matijević Sokol.¹⁰⁷ Some minor mis-

¹⁰⁴ Ludovicus Tubero Dalmata, *Commentarii de temporibus suis*, ed. by Vlado Rezar (Zagreb: Hrvatski institut za povijest, 2001), p. 63. Cf. Ludovik Crijević Tuberon, *Komentari o mojem vremenu* [Commentaries on my time], ed. by Vlado Rezar (Zagreb: Hrvatski institut za povijest, 2001), p. xxxviii.

¹⁰⁵ Vinko Pribojević, *O podrijetlu i zgodama Slavena* [Regarding the origin and the events happening to the Slavs], ed. by Grga Novak and Veljko Gortan (Split: Književni krug, 1991), pp. 50, 64, 108, 124.

¹⁰⁶ Mauro Orbini, *Il Regno de gli Slavi* (Pesaro: Concordia, 1601).

¹⁰⁷ See above, n. 4.

takes of that edition have been tacitly corrected. Textual comments have not been taken over; those interested in variants and other philological comments should consult the aforementioned critical edition.

The English translation of the *Historia* (always on the right-hand page) was started decades ago by James Ross Sweeney, who also added notes to a few parts, but his ill health prevented him from completing the planned annotated English version. His draft was transcribed and its gaps filled by Krisztina Fügedi from the Department of Medieval Studies, CEU, under the guidance of Frank Schaer, Series Editor, who then carefully edited and completed the translation. Final copyediting was done in cooperation with Damir Karbić of the Institute of History of the Croatian Academy of Sciences.

The translation aims, as always in CEMT, at a well readable, enjoyable and informative version, without sacrificing much from the author's style. In this case this was not a particularly difficult task, because Thomas' narrative is nicely straightforward, and wherever he is opaque, he may well have wished to remain equivocal. The text becomes occasionally hard to understand when he is making recourse to authorities, mainly to Classics, for better or worse.

Rendering certain details (mainly legal-institutional ones) of the *Historia* into modern English posed the same problems as those in previous volumes of CEMT. Beyond the "usual" problems of translating a medieval Latin text (this time written by someone for whom Latin was close to his mother tongue) into modern English, this narrative refers to a region where institutions and customs—described in Latin, which was the prevailing language of literacy—were in many respects different from those of the British Isles, whence the names for them have to be borrowed. This applies mainly to secular and ecclesiastical office-holders, such as *comes* (count), *archidiaconus* (arch-

deacon), and so on. We alert the reader to the problems connected to them in the notes. Another recurrent problem is the translation of proper names, both of persons and geographical features. First names, if an English equivalent exists, are Anglicized; otherwise, the usual vernacular (Croatian, Hungarian, Italian, etc.) form is used. Geographical features—both in the text and on the maps—follow the present-day usage, as they would appear in a modern atlas, and a Gazetteer is added (pp. 403–4) listing the different variants.

Many of the annotations go back to Sweeney's manuscript or to the notes of the Croatian translation by Matijević Sokol. They were, however, extensively augmented (mainly by Karbić and Schaer) especially with those readers in mind who may not be familiar with the details of the history of the region. References to recent results of historical, philological, and archaeological study were also added. Nevertheless, the notes do not intend to offer a history of Split and its area (to say nothing of the wider context of the *Historia*), nor do they contain all the titles from the extensive scholarship in languages not widely read, such as Croatian or Hungarian. Readers familiar with these will be able to find ample literature in the respective national and regional bibliographies and historical studies.¹⁰⁸

For the translation and annotation we have often consulted with profit the recent Russian translation by Olga Akimova.¹⁰⁹ The maps were designed by Damir Karbić and Péter Banyó, the indices were compiled by Robert Kourekić (CEU). The typography is the expert work of Péter Tamási and his team. To them and the CEU Press, for accepting this volume into the CEMT series, the editor-translators are most grateful.

¹⁰⁸ For these, see, for example, the bibliography in both Toma (as n. 4) and MMS.

¹⁰⁹ See n. 45, above.

HISTORIA SALONITANORUM ATQUE
SPALATINORUM PONTIFICUM

THE HISTORY OF THE BISHOPS
OF SALONA AND SPLIT

INCIPIIT HISTORIA SALONITANORUM ATQUE SPALATINORUM PONTIFICUM

I. DE DALMATIA

Dalmatia secundum Ysidorum est prima pars Gretie¹ et dicitur a Delmi civitate antiqua, que ibi fuit, sed ubi hec civitas Delmis in Dalmatie partibus fuerit, non satis patet. Verum tamen Dalmatia dicebatur olim largius, censebatur enim cum Chrovia una provintia.² Est enim regio quedam in superioribus partibus, que dicitur Delmina, ubi antiqua menia ostenduntur, ibi fuisse Delmis civitas memoratur.³ Nunc vero Dalmatia est regio maritima, incipiens ab Epyro, ubi est Dirachium⁴ et protenditur usque ad sinum Quarnarium, in cuius interioribus est oppidum Stridonis,⁵ quod Dalmatie Pannonieque confinium fuit. Hec fuit patria tellus beati Hieronymi, egregii doctoris. Dicta est Dalmatia etiam alio nomine Liburnia a quodam genere navis pirate, que in usu erat apud illos, unde Lucanus: *Pugnacesque*

¹ Isidore of Seville says that Greece has seven provinces, and *quarum prima ab occidente Dalmatia*—Dalmatia is the first part of Greece *from the west*. Afterwards he lists the others in order. Later he says *Dalmatia a Delmi maxima eiusdem provinciae civitate traxisse nomen existimatur* (*Etym.* XIV.4.7, 8).

² Thomas is here referring to the situation of his time, when most of ancient Dalmatia was included in Croatia, while medieval Dalmatia was only a number of territorially unconnected cities (Osor, Krk, Rab, Zadar, Trogir, Split and Dubrovnik) together with their districts both on the mainland and on the islands.

³ Delmis was usually identified with ancient Delminium (medieval Duvno, present-day Tomislavgrad in Bosnia and Hercegovina), but recently Ludwig Steindorff proposed the hypothesis that Thomas, relying on the aforementioned text of Isidore, understood by it the plain of Dalma, that is, Delmis

HERE BEGINS THE HISTORY OF THE BISHOPS OF SALONA AND SPLIT

1 About Dalmatia

Dalmatia, according to Isidore, is the first part of Greece,¹ and is named after the ancient city of Delmis that was there; but it is not entirely clear in what part of Dalmatia this city of Delmis was. However, the name Dalmatia was formerly used in a broader sense, for it was considered as one province with Croatia.² Now there is a certain area in the upper regions called Delmina, where ancient walls are to be seen; it was there, according to tradition, that the city of Delmis stood.³ Today, however, Dalmatia is a maritime region. It begins from Epirus, where Durrës is,⁴ and extends up to the Gulf of Kvarner, in the hinterland of which is the town of Stridon,⁵ which was the boundary between Dalmatia and Pannonia. This was the native town of the blessed Jerome, the illustrious doctor. Another name for Dalmatia was Liburnia, coming from a kind of pirate ship in use among them—whence Lucan: *And the Liburnians*

in the area of ancient Dioclea and present-day Podgorica in Montenegro; see Ludwig Steindorff, “Tumačenje riječi *Dalmatia* u srednjovjekovnoj historiografiji. Istovremeno o saboru na *planities Dalmae*” [On the meaning of the term *Dalmatia* in medieval historiography and on the diet in *planities Dalmae*], in Neven Budak (ed.), *Etnogeneza Hrvata* [Ethnogenesis of the Croats] (Zagreb: Nakladni zavod Matice hrvatske—Zavod za hrvatsku povijest Filozofskog fakulteta, 1995), pp. 148–58.

⁴ It. Durazzo, Lat. Dyrrachium, Greek Epidamnos: capital of the Roman and Byzantine provinces of Epirus.

⁵ The exact location of the town is not known. See Franjo Šanjek, “À la recherche de Stridon, lieu de naissance de Saint Jérôme,” *Revue d'Histoire Ecclésiastique* 100 (2005): 146–51.

*mari Graia cum classe Liburnos.*¹ Exercebant enim piraterium propter oportunitatem locorum, quia mare illud ob multitudinem insularum latebrosum et portuosum est valde.

Dicta est etiam hec provincia Illiris a quadam regina Amazonum, que ibi regnavit, de cuius stirpe dicuntur illi populi traxisse originem. Per mare huius provincie transivit Antenor Troyanus, qui sue urbis evadens excidium cum gente Dalmatica prelia multa commisit, ad ultimum pervenit ad partes Venetiarum. Et inde progrediens super oras Padi fluminis edificavit civitatem Patavium, que nunc Padua nuncupatur, sicut in Virgilio legitur.²

In istoriis vero Romanorum habetur, quod cum imperator Augustus in partibus Illyricis exercitum duceret et ipse alio properaret, misit quendam ducem,³ Venium nomine, contra Pannonios, qui duobus acribus fluviis circumvallantur Dravo et Savo, contra Dalmatas itidem misit ducem Vibium cum exercitu multo. Qui Dalmate commorantes in silvis circumadiacentes provincias latrocinando vastabant. Qui Vibius congressus cum eis victoriaque potitus gentem illam, licet esset efferum genus hominum, coegit ab armis discedere et terram fodere aurumque de venis terre purgare.⁴

¹ *Phars.* IV.530 (cf. n. 3 on p. 8 below). The Liburni were western neighbors of the Delmats. Hence came the name *liburna* for a light, fast-sailing vessel. Many ancient authors speak of the fierceness of these peoples and their reputation for piracy, e.g. Livy, *AUC* IX.2.4: *Illyrii Liburnique et Histri, gentes ferae et magna ex parte latrociniiis maritimis infames*; cf. Strabo, *Geog.* VII.5 *passim*.

² *Aen.* I.242–9. However, Vergil does not say that Padua lies on the Po, which is Thomas' mistake. Battles mentioned in Thomas' text are a medieval addition to the legend, to make a closer connection with the glorious Trojan past, a motif further elaborated in the fourteenth-century *History* of Micha Madius.

³ In our translation the Latin term *dux* is rendered as 'general' when it refers to military commanders of Antiquity, while for the medieval period we use

*fierce fighters on the sea with the Greek fleet.*¹ For they practiced piracy, taking advantage of the terrain, the sea there being full of hiding places and good harbors on account of the great number of islands.

This province is also called Illyria, after a certain queen of the Amazons who reigned there, from whose stock these peoples are said to have originated. Antenor the Trojan sailed past this province when fleeing the fall of his city, and engaged in many battles with the Dalmatian people. At last he reached the region of Venice, and, advancing further, he built the city of Patavium, which is now called Padua, on the banks of the River Po, as we read in Vergil.²

It is contained in the histories of the Romans that when Emperor Augustus was in the region of Illyria at the head of an army and he himself was hastening elsewhere, he sent a certain general³ named Venius against the Pannonians, who were surrounded by two swift rivers, the Drava and the Sava. At the same time he sent the general Vibius with a large army against the Dalmatians; these people, dwelling in the forests of Dalmatia, practiced brigandry and plundered the surrounding provinces. This Vibius, having engaged with them and having gained the victory, compelled that people, although they were a savage race of men, to give up their arms and to dig the ground and extract gold from the veins of the earth.⁴

several other translations (duke, warlord, leader, and so on) depending on the context.

⁴ This paragraph seems to conflate three different episodes from the *Epitome bellorum omnium annorum* (II.23–25) of Florus: Augustus' military expeditions in Pannonia from 35 to 33 BC, the expedition of Marcus Vinicius in Illyricum in 13 BC, and Baton's uprising from 6 to 9 AD. The end of the paragraph is an imprecise quote from cap. 25: *sed Augustus perdomandos Vibio mandat, qui efferum genus fodere terras coegit aurumque venis repurgare*. However, the production of gold in Dalmatia during Antiquity apparently did not play a particularly important role in the economy of Roman Dalmatia.

Secundum poetarum fabulas Cadmus dicitur in eandem devenisse provinciam, quando in serpentem mutatus est.¹ Fuit autem civitas eius Epitaurus, que est iuxta Ragusium,² in qua est magnum antrum et usque hodie opinio est, ibi habitare draconem, unde poeta: *Cur in amicorum vitiis tam cernis acutum, ut serpens Epitaurius?*³ Ob hanc causam populi illi dicebantur anguigene.⁴ Et etiam de beato Ylarione legitur, quod magnum ibi draconem peremit.⁵ Secundum ystoriam vero idem Cadmus rex fuit in Greta, qui depulsus regno venit in Dalmatiam factusque pirata sevisimus cepit quasi lubricus anguis per mare discurrere, navigantibus insidiari et quoscumque poterat opprimere impotentes.

Adria nichilominus hec provincia nuncupatur ab Adrianne⁶ filia Minoyis regis, quam rapuit Theseus et per mare navigans, cum iam ipsam exosam haberet, reliquit in quadam insula solam et aufugit cum sorore ipsius Phedra, sed Bachus, qui et Liber pater dicitur, eam inveniens sibi in uxorem accepit. Quidam dicunt, quod Adria dicitur a quodam Adrio Ytali fratre, qui regnavit ibidem⁷ vel

¹ Cadmus' travel to Illyricum is mentioned by several ancient writers, such as Apollonius of Rhodes (*Argonautica*, VI.516 sqq.) and Apollodorus (*Bibliotheca*, III.5.4), but Thomas' principal source was most probably Ovid (*Met.* IV.563–603). The legend was apparently widespread in Illyricum. For more details, see Petar Lisičar, "Legenda o Kadmu" [The legend of Cadmus], *Živa antika* 3 (1953): 241–61, and Radoslav Katičić, *Illyricum mythologicum* (Zagreb: Antibarbarus, 1995), pp. 211–303. See also an interesting reference in Arthur J. Evans, *Through Bosnia and the Herzegovina on Foot during the Insurrection* (London: Longmans, Green, and Co., 1876), 388–93.

² Present-day Cavtat near Dubrovnik. For the relationship between Epidaurus and Dubrovnik, see below, ch. 8, and Lovro Kunčević, "The Oldest Foundation Myth of Ragusa: the Epidaurian Tradition," *Annual of Medieval Studies at CEU* 10 (2004): 21–31.

³ This is an imprecise quotation from Horace (*Sat.* I.3.26–27): *Cur in amicorum vitiis tam cernis acutum / Quam aut aquila aut serpens Epitaurius.*

⁴ *Anguigene*, 'serpent-born': the word, apparently coined by Ovid, is used at *Met.* III.531 as an epithet of the Thebans.

⁵ The story that St. Hilarion destroyed a dragon in Epidaurus in Dalmatia is contained in his life, written by St. Jerome (*Vita S. Hilarionis*, cap. 39), which

According to the stories of the poets, Cadmus is said to have come to this province, whereupon he was transformed into a serpent.¹ His city was Epidaurus, which is near Dubrovnik.² In it there is a great cave, and to this day there is a belief that a dragon lives there; whence the poet: *Why do you, like the serpent of Epidaurus, discern so sharply the faults of friends?*³ For this reason all these peoples were termed “serpent-born.”⁴ Moreover, we read of the blessed Hilarion that he destroyed a great dragon there.⁵ But according to history this same Cadmus was a king in Greece, who after being expelled from his kingdom came to Dalmatia, and having become a most cruel pirate he began, like a slithering serpent, to range over the sea, lying in wait for those traveling by ship and falling upon the weaker ones among them whenever he could.

For all that, this province is named Adria, after Adriana,⁶ the daughter of King Minos, whom Theseus carried off; crossing the sea, since she was already hateful to him, he abandoned her alone on an island and fled with her sister Phaedra. But Bacchus, who is also called Father Liber, found her and took her as his wife. Some say that Adria is named after a certain Adrius, the brother of Italus, who reigned there;⁷ or according to some,

was most probably Thomas’ source for this story. The cult of St. Hilarion is still widespread in the Diocese of Dubrovnik.

⁶ *Recte*: Ariadne. Thomas is using popular etymology, and tries to explain the name on the basis of ancient literature. Most probably, his source for Ariadne’s fate was Ovid (*Met.* VIII.174–7). According to general opinion, the Adriatic got its name from the town of Adria (Hadria) near Rovigo.

⁷ Italus: a legendary king of the Sicilians, according to Servius (*Serv. Verg. Aen.* I.2), but he does not speak of Adrius. The tradition that Adrius reigned in Adria is included in the *Life of St. John of Trogir* (which was most probably Thomas’ source) and was apparently based on some local Dalmatian tradition. In its present shape this *vita* is compiled from the older versions in 1203 by Treguanus, at that time the archdeacon of Split and later the bishop of Trogir (1206–54); see “Život svetoga Ivana Trogirskoga” [The Life of St. John of Trogir], ed. by Milan Ivanišević, in Vedran Gligo and Hrvoje Morović (eds.), *Legende i kronike* [Readings on the saints and chronicles] (Split: Čakavski sabor, 1977), pp. 59–121, here p. 107.

secundum quosdam Adria dicitur ab *adra*, quod est lapis, quia lapidosa et montuosa est hec provintia.¹ Unde Ovidius: *Subdita montane brachia Dalmatie*.²

II. DE SALONA

Fuit autem metropolis civitas Dalmatie Salona, urbs magna et antiqua, de qua dicit Lucanus: *Qua maris Adriaci longas ferit unda Salonas*.³ Dicta autem est Salona a salo,⁴ hoc est a mari, quia in litore maris sita est. Longa vero idcirco dicta est, quia modicum lata, sed in longum fere sex milibus versus occidentalem plagam protendebatur.

Hec civitas tempore bellorum civilium fidem inconcussam Romane rei publice observans dominium Cesaris respuebat.⁵ Quam ob rem ad subiugandum eam misit Cesar Antonium cognatum suum cum magno navali exercitu, ipse vero insequendo Pompeium a Brundisio transvectus est in Epirum. Tunc Antonius premisit quendam ducem, nomine Vulteum, qui in insulis Salonitani litoris exercitum coadunaret. Sed ex parte Pompei erant in Salona duo duces Basilus et Octavius. Isti coegerant magnas populorum adiacentium catervas, videlicet Curetum,⁶ Dalmatinorum et Ystrorum, expectantes Cesaris partes, ut cum eis confligerent. Sed Vulteus famis sitisque coartatus penuria non potuit alterius in insulis comorari et licet esset undique hostium vallatus insidiis, tamen quandam navem cum meliori

¹ This etymology is found in the ancient scholia to Juvenal and Vergil. See Anton Meyer, *Die Sprache der alten Illyrier* 2 (Vienna: Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1959), p. 2.

² *Pont.* II.2.76: *Adde triumphatos modo Paeonas, adde quietis subdita montanae brachia Dalmatiae*.

³ *Phars.* IV.404. Salona was the center of the ancient province of Dalmatia, and remained the capital of Dalmatia after the reform of 297 enacted by Emperor Diocletian (284–305). On Roman Salona, see more in John Joseph Wilkes, *Dalmatia* (London: Routledge, 1969), pp. 220 ff.

⁴ *Salum*, 'the deep, the open sea'. This is another example of Thomas' popular etymology.

Adria is so called from *adra*, which means ‘stone’, because this province is stony and mountainous.¹ Whence Ovid’s verse: *The subdued arms of mountainous Dalmatia*.²

2 ABOUT SALONA

Salona was the capital of Dalmatia, and a great and ancient city of which Lucan writes: *Where the wave of the Adriatic Sea strikes long Salona*.³ Salona is so named from *salum*,⁴ that is, the sea, since it is located on the sea coast; it was said to be long because it was moderate in breadth but in length it extended almost six miles westward.

At the time of the Civil Wars this city showed unshakeable loyalty to the Roman Republic, and rejected Caesar’s rule.⁵ Because of this, Caesar sent his kinsman Antony with a large naval force to subjugate the city; at the same time, he himself crossed from Brundisium to Epirus in pursuit of Pompey. Then Antony sent ahead a general named Vulteus to gather an army from the islands along the coast of Salona. But in Salona there were two generals on Pompey’s side, Basilus and Octavius. They had gathered together large forces of troops from the neighboring peoples, namely the Curetes,⁶ Dalmatians and Istrians, and were awaiting Caesar’s adherents in order to do battle with them. But Vulteus ran short of supplies, and, hard-pressed by hunger and thirst, could no longer remain on the islands. So although the enemy were lying in wait on all sides, he never-

⁵ Thomas is thinking of the wars between Caesar and Pompey of 49 BC, described in Caesar, *De bello civili* III, cap. 7, but there it is clearly stated that Salona was besieged by Pompey’s partisans. Thomas’ report is based on *Phars.* IV.402–581, which, in fact, conflates the events from 48–6 BC.

⁶ Lucan is actually speaking about the inhabitants of the island of *Curicta*, which is the ancient name of the island of Krk (*Phars.* IV.406), but Thomas is erroneously using the name of the *Curetes* (the name of the legendary ancient people of Crete), which is for him an ancient name for the Croats; see below, ch. 7.

sociorum manu conscendens voluit latenter transponi in terram, sed hostium insidiis circumpositis navis in medio transitu intercepta est. Cumque navis hereret immobilis, videns Vulteus, quod non pateret via divertendi, cohortatus est suos, ut pro honore Caesaris mori fortiter parati essent antequam in hostiles inciderent manus. Sicque factum est: nam cum viderent Pompeianos iaculis, lapidibus et sagittis instare, iamque paratos ad navem manus apponere intusque insilire defessus iam Vulteus cum suis cum diutissime viriliter restitisset, ne vivi ad manus hostium devenirent, mutuis se vulneribus confoderunt et mortui sunt. Audiens ergo Antonius interitum Vultei et suorum comilitonum non apposuit ulterius venire Salonam, sed ad Cesarem reversus est. In tantum autem civitas hec fidem inviolatam rei publice custodivit, quod patrata Cesar totius orbis victoria et iam solus ad mundi monarchiam provectus adhuc civitati Salone minime imperabat.

Quam ob rem post Caesaris necem Octavianus Augustus misit quendam illustrem virum ex consulibus, nomine Asynium Pollionem, cum exercitu multo, qui Salonam Romano imperio subiugaret. Tunc Pollio in Dalmatiam veniens multis bellis cepit impugnare Salonam. Unde obsessa civitas et diutius navali et equestri exagitata congressu tandem in manibus Romanorum tradita est. In qua obsidione natus est Pollioni filius, cui Saloninus nomen imposuit.¹ Tunc vero magna pars civitatis illius destructa fuit, maiores etiam munitiones dirute, ne Romane rei publice rebellare ulterius posset. Peracta ergo victoria Pollio cum quo exercitu reversus est Romam, ubi cum magna gloria et laudis triumpho a senatu populoque Romano susceptus est, de quo in odis concinens Oratius dicit: *Cui eternos honores*

¹ Asinius Pollio (76 BC–5 AD), Roman author and founder of the first public library in Rome. Thomas refers to his campaigns against the Delmatae in 39 BC, on which several authors have written (such as Florus, II.25, and Horace, *Carm.* II.1.16). The name of Pollio's son is rendered as Saloninus in the commentary to *Ecl.* 4 by Servius. Servius also established the connection of the boy's name with Salona, because Pollio returned the city to Augustus after his victory over the Delmatae (*Serv. Verg. Ecl.* IV.2).

theless boarded a ship with a handpicked band of followers, intending to cross secretly to the mainland. But ambushes had been laid all around by the enemy, and the ship was intercepted in mid-passage. Then when the ship was trapped and unable to turn aside, Vulteus, seeing that no escape was possible, urged his men to be ready to die bravely for Caesar's honor rather than fall into the enemy's hands. And that indeed is what happened. For when they saw Pompey's partisans closing in with javelins, stones and arrows, and all set to take hold of the ship and leap aboard, exhausted after a very long and valiant resistance, in order to avoid falling into the hands of the enemy alive, Vulteus and his men stabbed themselves, each man another, and so they died. Antony, on hearing of the death of Vulteus and his fellow soldiers, abandoned his plan to advance on Salona, and instead returned to Caesar. But to such a degree did this city preserve inviolate its faith to the Republic that even when Caesar had achieved victory over the whole earth and was now alone the absolute ruler of the world, he still had no power at all over the city of Salona.

For this reason, after Caesar's murder Octavian Augustus sent a distinguished man from among the consuls, named Asinius Pollio, with a large army to subjugate Salona to the Roman sovereignty. Pollio came to Dalmatia and began to attack Salona on several fronts. After being battered by prolonged naval and cavalry assaults, the besieged city was at long last surrendered into the hands of the Romans. During the course of this siege a son was born to Pollio, to whom he gave the name Saloninus.¹ Thereupon a great part of the city was destroyed, and its principal fortifications were demolished as well, so that the city would never again be able to defy the Roman state. With victory secured, Pollio and his army returned to Rome, where he was received with great glory and a notable triumph by the Senate and the Roman people. Horace celebrates Pollio in his odes, referring to him with these words: *He to whom the laurel wreath*

*Dalmatico peperit triumpho.*¹ Fuit iste Pollio non solum armis strenuus, sed etiam poetica facundia insignis librosque nonullos lyricis metris composuit.

III. DE SANCTO DOMNIO ET SANCTO DOMNIONE²

Primus itaque beatus Paulus apostolus qui ab Ierusalem usque Illyricum replevit evangelio Christi; non tamen ipse per se intravit Illyricum predicare, sed misit Titum discipulum suum, sicut dicit ad Timoteum: *Crescens abiit in Galatiam, Titus in Dalmatiam.*³ Hic ergo beatus Titus ad Dalmatie partes adveniens, et verbum salutis gentibus illis predicans, non longo illic tempore mansit, sed audiens, quod beatus Paulus a preside Festo iussus esset Romam pergere,⁴ statim omissis omnibus preveniens eum expectavit in urbe. Quo cum beatus apostolus accessisset ibique verbum Dei diutius predicavit. Cum autem per spiritum sanctum cognosceret in eadem urbe suum martirium consumandum, de ecclesiis Gretie disponere curavit. Quam ob rem beatum Titum non remisit ad Dalmatias, sed ad Gretiam ubique magis erat notus, pontificem eum constituens aput insulam Cretam.⁵

Cuius loco beatus Petrus, apostolorum princeps, direxit quendam discipulum suum, nomine Domnium, natione Syrum, patria Anthiocenum, qui Dalmatie populis verbum vite, quod per Titum inchoatum fuerat, predicaret. Hoc enim beatus Petrus statuerat, ut pontificia christiane religionis sic disponerentur per

¹ This is also a partly imprecise quotation from Horace (*Carm.* II.1.14–15): *Cui laurus aeternos honores / Delmatico peperit triumpho.*

² In the service of the principal purpose of his work—to establish apostolic antiquity for the church of Split—Thomas divides the historical figure of the early Christian martyr Domnius into two and then uses different names for the real Salonitan saint (whom he names Domnio) and the one introduced into the Salonitan story (whom he names Domnius). It is worth noting that sources contemporary to Thomas always used the third form of the name, Duimus (Cr. Dujam, It. Doimo), for people named after the saint.

*bore eternal honors with a Dalmatian triumph.*¹ Pollio was not only a fine soldier, but was also distinguished for his eloquence in verse, and he composed a number of books in lyric meters.

3 SAINT DOMNIUS AND SAINT DOMNIO²

It was the blessed Paul the Apostle who first spread the Gospel of Christ from Jerusalem to Illyricum. However, he did not himself journey to Illyricum to preach, but sent his disciple Titus; as he says in his letter to Timothy, *Crescens departed to Galatia, Titus unto Dalmatia.*³ So the blessed Titus arrived in Dalmatia and preached the word of salvation to those peoples; yet he did not remain there for long, but on hearing that Saint Paul had been ordered by the governor Festus to proceed to Rome,⁴ he at once set all else aside and, going there in advance of him, awaited him in the city. When the blessed Apostle arrived, he preached the word of God there for some time. But when through the Holy Spirit he came to know that the consummation of his martyrdom would take place in that city, he set about making arrangements for the churches in Greece. For this reason he sent Titus not back to Dalmatia but to Greece, where he was better known, and appointed him bishop of the island of Crete.⁵

In his place the blessed Peter, Prince of the Apostles, directed one of his disciples, named Domnius, a Syrian from Antioch, to preach to the peoples of Dalmatia the word of life as Titus had begun. The blessed Peter had decided that Christian bishops should be established in each city of the world in the

³ 2 Tim. 4: 10.

⁴ See Acts 25: 12. The idea that Festus was the governor (*preside*) is implied in Acts 24: 1.

⁵ St. Titus is mentioned as a disciple of the Apostle Paul in several apocrypha. In them it is usually stated that he spent some time in Dalmatia (e.g. *Acta Pauli*, frag. X). On St. Titus, see more in *Acta Sanctorum Ianuarii* 1 (1643), pp. 163–4.

urbes singulas totius orbis, quemadmodum apud gentiles fuerat antiquitus constitutum.¹ In illis enim urbibus, in quibus erant gentiles antistites, qui dicebantur protoflamines, fecit ordinari episcopos, in metropoles vero provinciarum, ubi erant archi-flamines, archiepiscopos censuit statuendos.² Unde per horas Adriatici sinus tres direxit pontifices: Apollinarem³ Ravennae, que est metropolis totius provincie Emilie, Marcum evangelistam Aquileie,⁴ que preerat Venetie et Ystrie; Domnium⁵ vero in Salonam direxit, que caput erat Dalmatie et Croatiae. In qua denique civitate diutius predicans, multosque per totam provinciam a gentilitatis errore convertens, non parvam Christo ecclesiam adunavit, ibique agonem sui martirii felici cruore peregit. Ab huius ergo preeminencia apostolice dignitatis omnes successores sui archiepiscopalia insignia per sedem apostolicam sortiuntur. Hic autem cum multis aliis passus est, qui eum uno mense ad martirii gloriam precesserunt.

Postmodum vero tempore Diocletiane et Maximiane persecutionis alter simili nomine martir fuit, qui Domnionis⁶ vo-

¹ In the Latin, *pontifices* is used both for pagan priests and for Christian bishops and archbishops.

² Strictly, a *flamens* was a priest to a single god, and their hierarchy was determined by the importance of the god whose cult they tended; however, the author's twofold distinction may rest on a distinction between the *flamines maiores* (those of Jupiter, Mars and Romulus) and the *flamines minores* (those of twelve lesser gods) and a provincial or municipal *flamens*. For more, see August Friedrich von Pauly–Georg Wissowa (eds.), *Real-Encyclopaedie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft* (Stuttgart: J. B. Metzler, 1894–1980) 6 (1909), pp. 2484–91.

³ St. Apollinaris was the first bishop of Ravenna and a martyr. According to the legend, he was a disciple of St. Peter. Medieval Ravenna emphasized its apostolic origin as a legitimization of its jurisdiction over neighboring bishoprics.

⁴ The see of Aquileia was, according to the legends, established by St. Mark the Evangelist: see *Acta Sanctorum Aprilis* 3 (1675), pp. 346–7. When he was preaching the gospel along the Adriatic coast, he was thrown by a storm onto some small islands; an angel appeared to him and told him that a city would grow in his honor in the lagoon. St. Mark was later martyred in Alexandria, where he founded a Christian church, and his body was several centuries later

same way as pontiffs had been among the heathens since ancient times.¹ So he had bishops appointed in those cities in which there were pagan priests called *protoflamens*, and in the metropolitan cities of the provinces, where there were those called *archiflamens*, he determined that archbishops should be appointed.² Accordingly, he sent three archbishops to the coast of the Adriatic: Apollinaris³ to Ravenna, the metropolitan see of the whole province of Emilia; the Evangelist Mark to Aquileia,⁴ the chief city of Venice and Istria; finally Domnius⁵ to Salona, the capital city of Dalmatia and Croatia. In the latter city Domnius preached for a long time and converted many people throughout the province from the error of heathenism, and when he had finally gathered no small church to Christ, at last he brought his sacred duty to fulfillment in the blessed blood of his martyrdom. And because he had the distinction of being specially chosen by the Apostle, all his successors receive the archiepiscopal insignia from the Holy See. Moreover, Domnius obtained a martyr's crown, along with many others who, in the month preceding, went before him to the glory of martyrdom.

Afterwards, at the time of the persecution of Diocletian and Maximianus, there was another martyr of similar name. He was called Domnio;⁶ thus his name differs only a little from that of

transferred by Venetian seamen to Venice. Thus he became the patron saint of that city and his attribute (the winged lion) its symbol.

⁵ St. Domnius, whose feast day is observed on May 7 (in the Hieronymian Martyrology, 11 April), was in reality an early fourth-century martyr, put to death by Diocletian in 304. He was by origin a Syrian, and was a bishop of Salona from 284 to his death. For more details, see Hippolyte Delahaye, "Saints d'Istrie et de la Dalmatie," *Analecta Bollandiana* 18 (1899): 394, and Furio Lenzi, *San Domnio. Vescovo e martire di Salona* (†303) (Rome: Tipografia editrice Romana, 1913). The details of Domnius' life provided by Thomas are among the few literary references to the activities of the saint.

⁶ St. Domnio (also called Domninus, Ital. Donnino, feast day 9 October) was a martyr venerated in Borgo San Donnino near Parma (present-day Fidenza). See *Acta Sanctorum Octobris* 4 (1780), pp. 987–93.

cabulo a nomine pontificis Domnii modicum differt. Sed hic fuit unus ex cubiculariis Maximiniani tyranni. Cum ergo iste Domnio maioris dilectionis apud imperatorem prerogativa gauderet, ipse coronam imperii conservabat et ipsam tempore debito super imperatoris verticem imponebat, erat autem occulte christianus. Et cum videret Maximianum adeo crudeliter in christianos deservire, ut multos a sancto proposito deterreret, ipse utpote christianissimus et devotus exortabatur martires in sancto proposito finaliter perdurare. Tunc fecit oportunitatem eis effugiendi tyranni rabiem et ad Romanam urbem divertendi. Quod cum ad Maximiani devenisset notitiam, acrius in eum persecutionis deservit insania ita, ut ad primam confessionem christiani nominis, expoliatus regio habitu, nisi ydolis immolaret, illico susciperet sententiam capitalem. Sed beatus Domnio, tyranni declinans sevitiam, Romam fugiens properabat. Et dum iret via Claudia¹ prope civitatem quandam, que Iulia Crisopolis appellatur,² satellites imperatoris post ipsum currentes invaserunt eum et strictis mucronibus circumdantes amputaverunt caput eius. Ipse vero martyr virtute divina propriis manibus caput suum de terra dicitur elevasse et ibidem quendam fluvium, qui Sytirion nominatur, firmis gressibus transvadasse ibique sepultus aliquo tempore requievit. Cum autem dominus multa per eum miracula operaretur, ex multis provinciis pro sanitate adipiscenda ad locum ipsum confluebant. Tunc Salonitani cives, quia equinomius erat beato Domnio pontifici, abeuntes rapuerunt corpus beati Domnionis, et cum magna reverentia locaverunt Salone. Qua de re, propter nominis consonantiam, multotiens vocabulum Domnionis pro nomine Domnii et e converso confuse describitur. Eodem tempore beatus Anastasius³ Aquilegensis apud Salonam martirium pro Christi nomine suscepit.

¹ *Via Claudia* is the medieval name for the *Via Aemilia*.

² *Iulia Chrysopolis* is Parma; the River Sytirion is a marshy area around the creek Stirone.

³ St. Anastasius (Cr. Staš) was by origin from Aquileia, and lived in Salona during the persecution of Diocletian. He was imprisoned there and thrown into the sea with a millstone bound around his neck. He was buried in a mau-

Bishop Domnius. However, this Domnio was one of the personal servants of the tyrant Maximianus. Because he enjoyed the privilege of the emperor's special affection, he had charge of the imperial crown, and was the one who set it on the emperor's head when occasion demanded. However, he was secretly a Christian. When he saw Maximianus so cruelly persecuting the Christians and deterring many from their holy mission, then he himself, being a most deeply devout and committed Christian, encouraged the martyrs to remain firm in their holy mission; then he found a way for them to escape the tyrant's fury and to slip away to the city of Rome. But when Maximianus came to learn of this, the persecutor's rabid fury fell fully on Domnio. As soon as he confessed to the name of Christian, he was stripped of his royal livery and threatened with capital punishment immediately unless he sacrificed to idols. However, the blessed Domnio managed to slip from the clutches of the savage tyrant and fled in haste towards Rome. But the emperor's henchmen followed in hot pursuit, and while he was traveling down the Via Claudia¹ he was overtaken by them near a city called Julia Chrysopolis.² Surrounding him, they drew their swords and cut off his head. But it is said that by the power of God the martyr picked up his head from the ground with his own hands and then waded with unfaltering steps across a river known as the Sytirion. And there he was buried and rested for a time. And because the Lord worked many miracles through him, people from many provinces flocked to this place in order to be cured. But eventually, because he was of similar name to the blessed Bishop Domnius, the citizens of Salona came and took away the body of the blessed Domnio and with great reverence brought it to Salona. Hence people very often confuse them, because their names sound so similar, and refer to Domnio as Domnius and vice versa. At the same time the blessed Anastasius³ of Aquileia accepted martyrdom in Salona for the name of Christ.

soleum in the Salonitan cemetery complex at Marusinac. He is venerated as the patron saint of weavers and fullers. For more, see *Acta Sanctorum Augusti* 4 (1739), pp. 407–9.

IV. DE CONSTRUCTIONE EDIFICII, QUOD SPALATUM NUNCUPATUR

Per idem tempus Dioclitianus, pater adoptione Maximiani,¹ qui ex Dalmatie partibus oriundus extitit, ob res ab eo pro re publica multum strenue gestas a senatu populoque Romano imperator fuerat constitutus. Hic super omnes alios predecessores suos immanissimus christianorum extitit persecutor. Qui cum per universum orbem fideles Christi beluina feritate persequi non cessaret, velut rabidus leo sitim sue perfidie christiano cruore non poterat satiare. Propter ipsius siquidem edicta pestifera² tot milia christianorum cotidie trucidabantur, ut pene videretur totius humani generis excidium iminere. Unde a suis aulicis tyranno suggestum est, ut tam crudele revocaret edictum, ne tanta hominum cedes cotidie fieret, quia timendum erat, ne forte toto mundo in exterminium dato non esset, cui posset ulterius imperare. Tunc Dioclitianus tale moderamen sue voluit adhibere sevitie dans legem, ut qui nollet a christiana cultura recedere, non ut prius statim capite plecteretur, sed bonis omnibus expoliatus ad diversa metalla et ad fodiendas arenas exul patria dampnaretur.

Itaque in diversis mundi partibus iussit imperator ob augustalem memoriam multa edificia erigi. Ad quorum laboriosas operas dampnaticios quosque, maxime christianos, mitti precepit. Preter alia quidem multa edificia Rome fecit fieri termas.³

¹ Thomas is here actually referring not to Diocletian's co-ruler (*augustus*) Maximianus Herculius (in full: Marcus Aurelius Valerius Maximianus, 286–305), but to Diocletian's son-in-law and *caesar* Galerius (Gaius Galerius Valerius Maximianus). Thomas' source for Diocletian and his persecution of Christians was apparently Lactantius, who called Galerius "the other Maximianus" (*De mort. pers.*, cap. 9). The word *adoptione* was inserted by the scribe of Ms. S and has so far been overlooked in earlier editions.

² *Edicta pestifera*: the four edicts published in 303 and 304. On their basis were conducted the most energetic persecutions of Christians (from 303 to 311). On Diocletian's persecution, see Pauly–Wissowa 47 (1948), pp. 2479–87.

4 THE CONSTRUCTION OF THE BUILDING CALLED SPLIT

During the same period Diocletian, the adoptive father of Maximianus,¹ who originally came from Dalmatia, was chosen as emperor by the Senate and the Roman people, because of the deeds that he performed with great energy on behalf of the state. More than all his predecessors this emperor proved a most savage persecutor of Christians. Like a raging lion he hunted down Christ's faithful throughout the world relentlessly and with bestial savagery, yet still was unable to quench his base thirst for Christian blood. Indeed, on account of his pernicious edicts² so many thousands of Christians were slaughtered daily that it almost seemed that the total destruction of the human race was imminent. Thereupon his courtiers intimated to the tyrant that he should revoke his savage edict, so that so great a massacre of people should not occur every day. For it was to be feared that if the whole world were given over to destruction, there would be no one left in future for him to rule over. Therefore Diocletian agreed to set bounds to his rage, and issued a law that any person who refused to abandon the worship of Christ would not, as before, be immediately punished with loss of life, but rather would be stripped of all his property and sentenced to be exiled from his country and to labor in the various mines or in the sand quarries.

So Diocletian ordered many buildings to be erected in different parts of the world in honor of the imperial memory, and to these onerous labors he ordered various condemned persons, principally Christians, to be sent. In Rome, apart from many other buildings, he had baths built,³ and in Pannonia by the

³ Diocletian's passion for building is mentioned in Lactantius, *De mortibus persecutorum* 7.2–10. For his building activities, see Pauly–Wissowa, as above, pp. 2472–5.

In Pannonie partibus in confinio Rutenie¹ quoddam construxit edificium ex lapidibus porfireticis satis excellens, quod adhuc, licet dirutum, magnum tamen inde transeuntibus admirationis spectaculum prestat, sicut legitur in ystoria quatuor coronatorum.² In terra vero Getarum, que nunc Servia seu Rasia nuncupatur,³ prope stagnum quoddam civitatem fecit construi, quam ex suo nomine Diocliam appellavit.⁴ Et quia Dalmatinus erat origine, nobilius edificium prope Salonam edificari iussit in modum urbis munitissime, quasi imperiale palatium, in quo templa facta sunt ydolorum Iovis, Asclepii, Martis, sicut apparet usque in hodiernum diem.⁵ In hoc edificio Dioclitianus matrem suam habitare fecit tradens ei Salonam cum tota provincia. Hoc scilicet edificium Spalaturn dictum est a pallantheo, quod antiqui spaciosum dicebant palatium.⁶

Huius temporibus Gaius, similiter natione Dalmaticus, summus pontifex factus est apostolice sedis.⁷ Fuit autem iste Gaius tempore Sebastiani martiris, qui cum Chromatio urbi prefecto,

¹ Thomas is here anachronistic, both in referring to the area of later Russian lands and by making Pannonia contiguous with them.

² See *Passio sanctorum quattuor coronatorum* ed. Wilhelm Wattenbach, in *Sitzungsberichte der Phil.-Hist. Kl. der Kaiserlichen Akademie d. Wiss.* 10 (1853), p. 118; this version has no reference to Ruthenia nor to the building being in ruins.

³ The Getae at this time were settled on both banks of the lower Danube. The context, however, suggests that *Getarum* is a misspelling for *Gothorum*, the identification of the two probably being derived from Iordanes (*Getica*, cap. 9).

⁴ *Dioclia* is the ancient city of *Doclea*, the remains of which lie near present-day Podgorica in Montenegro, near Lake Scutari (Serb. Skadarsko jezero, Alb. Liqen i Shkodrës). It was neither founded by nor named after Diocletian, but became a capital of the province of Praevalitana during his reign.

⁵ Diocletian began building his palace at Split in 293 AD in readiness for his retirement from politics in 305. The palace, of which the extensive ruins (like those of his baths at Rome) survive within the precincts of the modern city, was located four miles from the provincial capital, Salona. The transformation of the palace into the town began in the seventh century, when the

border of Ruthenia¹ he constructed a splendid building out of porphyry, which, although it is in ruins, is a sight that to this day evokes wonder in those who pass by, as we read in the story of the Four Crowned.² But in the land of the Getae, which is now called Serbia or Rascia,³ near an expanse of water he had a city built, which he called Dioclea after his own name.⁴ And because he was by origin a Dalmatian, he ordered a splendid edifice to be constructed near Salona in the manner of a well-fortified city, like an imperial palace, in which there were temples with idols of Jove, Asclepius and Mars, as can be seen to the present day.⁵ In this complex Diocletian set his mother to live, giving her Salona together with the whole province. This edifice is called *Spalatum* from “Pallantheum,” which was the name that the ancients gave to a spacious palace.⁶

In Diocletian’s time Gaius, who was likewise of Dalmatian stock, was made supreme pontiff of the Apostolic See.⁷ This Gaius lived in the time of the martyr Sebastian, who, together

inhabitants of Salona took refuge in the palace during the invasion of Avars and Slavs (cf. ch. 10 below). Three temples mentioned here are archaeologically identified on the western side of the palace. For one of them it has been established that it was dedicated to Jupiter, while two others were probably dedicated to Venus and Cybele.

⁶ The author’s explanation of the name *Spalatum* seems to blend two etymologies. On the one hand, he connects it with Pallantheum, a name shared by different ancient cities; at the same time, he offers an etymology (of a type commonly encountered in ancient grammarians) based on the conflation of the sounds of two otherwise unrelated words, in this case *spaciosum* and *palatium*. Modern opinion holds that the name derives rather from *aspalathus*, a type of aromatic shrub, from which the adjacent bay took its name.

⁷ Pope Gaius (283–96) may have come from Salona and been a relative of Emperor Diocletian. Thomas took the data on him from the *Liber Pontificalis*. See *Liber pontificalis*, ed. by Louis Duchesne, vol. 1, Bibliothèque des Écoles françaises d’Athènes et de Rome, Ser. II, vol. 3 (Paris: Écoles françaises d’Athènes et de Rome, 1886), p. 161.

Marcelliano et Marco¹ agonizantes martirio confortabat. Quamvis enim esset de genere Dioclitiani cesaris, non tamen pacem christianis optinere potuit, quin immo persecutionis turbo cum ceteris eum involvit martiribus. XII fere annis apostolice presidens ecclesie cum triumpho martirii perexit ad Dominum.

V. DE CLICERIO ET NATALI SALONITANIS PRESULIBUS

Ea tempestate Salona optimo statu pollebat, magna civium et extraneorum populositate florebat. Persecutionis vero iam cessante procella ecclesia suum paulatim resumpsit vigorem. Multitudo cleri, que ibi erat, ecclesiasticis cepit institutionibus informari pluresque presules post beatum Domnium seriatim successerunt. De aliquibus, prout scire potuimus, ad posterorum memoria aliqua disseramus.

Tempore Leonis imperatoris,² cum Antonius tyrannus³ fuisset imperator designatus, propter res infideliter gestas in palatio interemptus est. Idem Leo Leonem iuniorem, filium Nepotiani, copulata sibi quadam nepte sua in matrimonio loco Antemii apud Ravennam cesarem ordinavit.⁴ Hic ergo Leo regno potitus legitimo Clicerium quendam,⁵ strenuum virum, qui sibi ante illud tempus tiranico more regnum imposuerat, caute ab imperio expellere voluit. Unde volens eum extra regni negotia quasi privatum manere apud Salonam Dalmatie episcopum fieri fecit.

¹ The prefect Chromatius and the twin brothers and martyrs SS. Marcellian and Mark (feast day 18 June) are part of St. Sebastian's legend. See, for example, the version written by St. Ambrose: *Acta Sanctorum Ianuarii* 2 (1643), pp. 265–78.

² Emperor Leo I was Eastern Emperor (457–74). The following somewhat garbled account of the events of the last two years of his reign is taken almost verbatim from Jordanes (*Romana*, 338–9).

³ The name is evidently simply a scribal error for Western Emperor Ant(h)emius (467–72), as the source cited in the note above suggests.

⁴ The younger Leo is Leo II (474–5), son of Emperor Zeno (474–91) and grandson of Leo I. However, Leo I married his *neptis* (probably niece rather

with Chromatius, the prefect of the city, Marcellian, and Mark,¹ comforted those suffering martyrdom. But although he was related to Emperor Diocletian he was not able to win Peace for the Christians; indeed, the whirlwind of persecution swept him up with the other martyrs, and after nearly twelve years presiding over the Holy See he passed on to his Lord in the triumph of martyrdom.

5 BISHOPS GLYCERIUS AND NATALIS OF SALONA

At that time Salona was in a most excellent and thriving state, and flourished with a large population of citizens and foreigners. The hurricane of persecution was now passing, and the church little by little regained its strength. The large number of clergy who lived there grew familiar with the institutions of the church, and after the blessed Domnius a long line of bishops followed in succession. Let us set down an account of some of them, as much as we could learn, for the memory of posterity.

In the time of Emperor Leo,² the tyrant Antoninus,³ who had been emperor designate, was put to death in the palace because of his treacherous acts, and the same Leo appointed the younger Leo, son of Nepotianus, to be caesar at Ravenna in place of Antemius, after having married him to a niece of his.⁴ This Leo, having succeeded to power by lawful means, wished cautiously to remove from office a certain Glycerius,⁵ an energetic man who had earlier seized power despotically. Wishing him as it were to remain separate outside the affairs of government, Leo had Glycerius appointed bishop of Salona in Dalmatia.

than granddaughter) not to his own grandson Leo II but to Nepotianus son of Julius Nepos, the *magister militum* in the west around 458–61.

⁵ Glycerius, Western Emperor (473–4). Leo I sent Nepos against Glycerius in 474. Glycerius was deposed after eight months of rule and appointed as the bishop of Salona.

Temporibus vero Pelagii¹ et Gregorii doctoris,² Romanorum pontificum, fuit quidam archiepiscopus Salone, Natalis nomine,³ eiusdem indigena civitatis, qui cum multorum esset propinquorum potentia circumfultus, multum a pontificali honestate devius incedebat. Cum enim esset inpos scientie, non lectioni erat deditus, sed epulis et cotidianis conviviis cum cognatis et amicis vacabat et quod erat deterius, thesauros ecclesie et vasa ministerii dando suis contribulibus⁴ et complicitibus sacrilega dilapidatione vastabat. Et erat eo tempore archidiaconus⁵ quidam, Honoratus nomine, qui Deum habens pre oculis zelo nimio movebatur, dolens de sui presulis insolentia. Hic quantum licebat, conabatur se opponere Natali archiepiscopo maxime, quia videbat bona ecclesie tam indecenter distrahi. Qua ex re archiepiscopus valde ipsum exosum habebat. Multas ergo machinationes et dolos contra archidiaconum cepit exquirere, ut eum ab archidiaconatus officio deicere posset. Sed cum causam opportunam minime inveniret, tunc simulare cepit, quasi maiorem dilectionem gereret circa ipsum et quasi honorem eius vellet fortius ampliare. Cepit itaque multis ei suadere sermonibus, ut ordinem sacerdotalem susciperet. Sed Honoratus suspicans dolum in causa versari non acquievit ordinari. Videns autem Natalis calliditatis sue versutias non satis ad votum procedere, protinus convocato clero verbum proposuit. Et quasi magne necessitatis pretensa occasione cepit archidiaconum pro suscipiendo sacerdotio compellere violenter. Sed cum archidiaconus in contradictione persisteret, archiepiscopus eum ab officio et beneficio suspendit. Tunc Honoratus ad papam Pelagium missa supplicatione postulavit,⁶ ut archiepiscopo preciperet, ne ipsum

¹ Pope Pelagius II (580/1–90).

² Pope Gregory I the Great (540–604).

³ Natalis was the twentieth bishop of Salona (from 582). He died between October 592 and March 593.

⁴ *Contribulis* is a very rare word, used once by Jerome, *Gal.* 2.10, and Ambrose, *Ep.* 6.14.

⁵ The archdeacon (*archidiaconus*) was the first dignitary of a chapter in Dalmatia and Croatia, entrusted with the care of matters of discipline and ecclesi-

In the time of Pelagius¹ and the illustrious doctor Gregory,² bishops of Rome, the archbishop of Salona was a certain Natalis,³ a native of that city. Natalis, who enjoyed the support of many powerful friends, strayed greatly from the path of episcopal integrity. Indeed, he was uneducated, devoting his time more to banquets and to daily gatherings with his relatives and friends than to reading. And what was worse, he helped himself to the wealth of the church with sacrilegious profligacy, giving its treasure and sacred vessels to his cronies⁴ and accomplices. Now at the time the archdeacon⁵ was a man named Honoratus. He was spurred by great love of God and had Him ever before his eyes, and was much grieved at the excesses of his archbishop. He did as much as was in his power to oppose Archbishop Natalis, especially when he saw the goods of the church being so disgracefully squandered. Because of this the archbishop hated him greatly, and began devising many schemes and tricks against the archdeacon in order to oust him from his office. But when the archbishop could not discover any convincing pretext, he then pretended that he held the archdeacon in particular esteem and wished to raise him to higher honor. And so he urged him in many conversations to take priestly orders. But Honoratus, suspecting a trick in all this, would not agree to be ordained. Then Natalis, on seeing that his clever scheme was not proceeding according to plan, suddenly assembled the clergy and delivered an address in which he claimed he was forced by circumstances to insist that the archdeacon take up the priesthood. When even then the archdeacon persisted in refusing, the archbishop suspended him from his office and his benefice. Then Honoratus sent a plea to Pope Pelagius,⁶ beg-

astical property. This function corresponded to that of provost (*praepositus*) in the chapters of Hungary and Slavonia. On another meaning of the term, see below, n. 4, p. 67.

⁶ The correspondence of Pope Pelagius II is not extant. However, it is mentioned in the correspondence of Pope Gregory I (Greg. *Ep.* II.19), from which Thomas got the data on the whole case (Greg. *Epp.* I.19–21; II.18–20, 52; III.32).

super hac re indebite molestaret. Insuper etiam pravam conversationem archiepiscopi pape denunciavit. Quam ob rem dominus papa zelo Dei commotus eidem Natali precepit districte, ut super promotione huiusmodi archidiaconum inquietare ammodo non presumeret, sed ad certam diem super suis excessibus responsurus apostolico se conspectui presentaret. Natalis ergo suscepto pape precepto contempsit et in sua pertinacia perduravit.

Interim autem summus pontifex Pelagius mortis debitum solvit, cui successit beatus Gregorius doctor. Iterum ergo Honoratus supplicavit beato Gregorio, ne a suo prelato super ordinis susceptione tantam molestiam sustineret. Papa vero, secundum quod decessor eius mandaverat, Natalem per epistolam suam comonuit et precepit, ut a molestatione sui archidiaconi iam cessaret. Sed cum Natalis sue perversitatis non revocaret habenas, Honoratus tot gravaminibus ac laboribus fatigatus demum suo archiepiscopo acquievit. Cum ergo fuisset in presbiterum ordinatus, statim Natalis conceptam sui cordis nequitiam evomuit et Honoratum ab archidiaconatu deiecit dicens: «Non debet sacerdos in archidiaconatus ministerio deservire.» Moxque alium moribus et vita sibi concordem in locum eius ascivit.

Honoratus vero videns sibi tam nequiter fore delusum ad papam se contulit proponens omnia, que archiepiscopus fraudulenter egerat contra eum. Tunc beatus Gregorius iterato scripsit Natali, ut Honoratum in honore pristino restitueret et nichilominus pro his, que insinuatio proclamabat infamie contra eum, ad sedem apostolicam accederet responsurus. Sed Natalis papalia mandata contempnens, utpote male conscius, in sue mentis perversitate contumaciter persistebat. Dolens ergo beatus Gregorius de tanta obstinatione pontificis compatiens etiam

ging that he should order the archbishop not to harass him unfairly over this matter. In addition to this, he warned the pope about the archbishop's improper way of life. On this account our lord the pope, impelled by zeal for God, ordered Natalis in no uncertain terms not to presume to vex the archdeacon further about preferment, but rather on a fixed date to appear before the pope himself to answer for his transgressions. But when Natalis received the pope's instructions he paid them no attention and persisted in his obstinacy.

In the meantime, Pope Pelagius passed away and was succeeded by the blessed doctor Gregory. Again, Honoratus appealed to Saint Gregory that he not be subject to such badgering about taking orders. The pope, following what his predecessor had ordered, admonished Natalis by letter and ordered that from now on he stop from troubling his archdeacon. However, Natalis would not refrain from his perverse behavior, and Honoratus, exhausted by so many demands and troubles, at last gave in to the archbishop. But when Honoratus had been ordained into the priesthood, Natalis immediately disgorged the wickedness that he had been harboring in his heart. He evicted Honoratus from the archdeaconry, citing the rule that "a priest is not to serve in the office of archdeacon"; presently he also appointed another man in his place, one whose habits and life were congenial to him.

Honoratus, seeing that he had been so wickedly deceived, turned to the pope, setting forth everything that the archbishop had deceitfully done against him. Then Saint Gregory wrote once again to Natalis, saying that he should restore Honoratus to his former office, and at the same time that he should come to the Holy See to answer for the ill reports that were circulating against him. But Natalis, conscious of his misdeeds, disdained the papal order and persisted defiantly in his perverse attitude. Then Gregory, grieved at the inordinate stubbornness of the archbishop, and at the same time sympathizing with the

tot erumnis archidiaconi quendam subdiaconum suum nomine Antonium¹ Salonam direxit. Qui auctoritate fultus apostolica illuc accedens, cepit prius lenibus verbis admonere pontificem, ut Honoratum in sui honoris locum reciperet et ab ipsius tam perversa molestatione cessaret. Sed cum Natalis multa contra archidiaconum confingeret vias multiplices reluctandi exquirens, Antonius eidem Natali usum pallii interdixit interminans ut, si nec sic acquiesceret, excommunicationis in eum sententiam promulgaret. Hoc facto Natalis suas litteras ad papam direxit contra Honoratum. Honoratus nichilominus suas accusatorias contra archiepiscopum destinavit. Beatus vero Gregorius Natali rescripsit de multis excessibus redarguens ipsum et precipue de dolosa promotione Honorati dicens: «Quod valde iniquum fuit, ut uno eodemque tempore una persona nolens ad ordinem sacerdotii promoveatur, que tamquam immerita a diaconatus officio removetur et sicut iustum est, ut nemo crescere compellatur invitus, ita censendum puto, ne quisquam insons ab ordinis sui ministerio deiciatur iniuste.» Honorato vero rescripsit dicens: «Volumus et precipimus te in officio archidiaconatus iure pristino ministrare, custodia vero thesaurorum tibi ex officio tuo competit, unde siquid vel ex negligentia tua vel cuiusquam fraude deperiret, tu Deo et nobis satisfacere teneris.» Eum vero, quem Natalis intruserat, ab archidiaconatu deiecit. Et quia in tantum scandali tumultum hec causa succreverat, precepit papa Honorato archidiacono, ut ad sedem apostolicam personaliter accederet. Archiepiscopus vero non personaliter sed per procuratores legitimos se curie presentaret. Quod et factum est. Nam per sententiam apostolicam amborum causa terminata est.

¹ His name was, in fact, Antoninus, and he was a subdeacon and manager of papal property in Dalmatia (*rector patrimonii in Dalmatia*). On Antoninus, see Greg. *Epp.* I.36, 44; II.20, 32; III.8–9, 22, 47; IV.47.

archdeacon, who was suffering such distress, dispatched one of his subdeacons, named Antony,¹ to Salona. On his arrival this man, with the backing of papal authority, began at first to warn the archbishop in lenient terms that he should take Honoratus back in his place of office and cease from troubling him so unfairly. But when Natalis fabricated many things about the archdeacon, searching out all manner of ways of resisting, Antony forbade Natalis the use of the *pallium*, threatening that, if the archbishop still did not comply, he would issue a sentence of excommunication against him. After this Natalis sent a letter to the pope complaining against Honoratus. Honoratus in turn dispatched a letter of complaint against the archbishop. Saint Gregory wrote back, charging the archbishop with his many transgressions, especially concerning the deceitful promotion of Honoratus. The pope said that it was quite unjust that at one and the same time a person should unwillingly be advanced to the priesthood and the same person be removed from the office of archdeacon as if he had done wrong. He stated further that "as it was proper that no one be compelled to accept promotion against his will, so I deem it right to hold that no innocent person be unjustly expelled from the ministry of his order." And to Honoratus he wrote "We wish and we command that you serve in the archidiaconal office with your former right; that the care of the treasury be in your charge by right of your office, from which if there is any loss either by your own carelessness or anyone's deceit, you will be held accountable to God and to us." Then the pope removed from the archdeaconship the man whom Natalis had installed. And since this matter had grown into such a scandal, the pope ordered Archdeacon Honoratus to come personally to the Holy See; while the archbishop was to present himself at the curia not in person but through the proper representatives. This was done, and by papal judgement the affair between the two was ended.

VI. DE MAXIMO SCISMATICO

In diebus illis misit beatus Gregorius quendam responsalem suum,¹ qui ecclesias Dalmatie visitaret. Eo tempore Natalis archiepiscopus de hac luce migravit.

Maximus autem ambitionis ardore succensus ad pontificatum impatienter anelabat et tandem non sine symoniaca labe dicitur fuisse electus. Hic non, ut erat consuetudinis, ad sedem apostolicam consecrandus accessit, sed misit prius et ab imperatoribus Constantinopolitanis² favorem obtinuit. Qui tamen preceperunt eidem, ut domini pape se conspectui presentaret. Sed ipse conscius electionis iniuste non accessit ad papam nec requisivit consensum responsalis eius, sed temeritate precipiti fecit se ibidem in archiepiscopum consecrari.

Quod cum ad domini pape notitiam devenisset, magno fuit dolore permotus statimque misit ad eum districte precipiens, ne missarum solempnia celebraret. Maximus vero scismatico scelere involutus obstinata mente contempsit pape preceptum, sed confisus de suorum potentia propinquorum et aliorum secularium virorum, quibus denudata sua ecclesia multa donaria largiebatur, missas celebrabat et omnia pontificalia presumebat. Tunc beatus Gregorius scripsit clero et populo Salonitano³ precipiens, ut nullus communicaret eidem Maximo sacerdotium rapienti. Sed tantus erat metus ipsius et suorum complicum, quod nullus audebat eum palam vitare. Honoratus vero archidiaconus et quidam Paulinus episcopus,⁴ isti, quia discreti

¹ Apocrisiarius, an ecclesiastical envoy of Christian Late Antiquity and the early Middle Ages.

² In fact, at that time the only emperor at Constantinople was Maurice (582–602). However, from the correspondence of Pope Gregory I it is evident that Empress Constantina, daughter of the previous Emperor Tiberius II (578–82) and wife of Maurice, had an interest in the issue of Salonitan episcopal succession (Greg. *Epp.* V.21).

³ On Maximus, see Greg. *Epp.* IV.10, 20; V.21; VI.3, 25–26; IX.67, 80–1, 125; X.36.

6 MAXIMUS THE SCHISMATIC

In those same days Saint Gregory sent out one of his apocrisaries¹ to visit the churches of Dalmatia. At that time Archbishop Natalis departed from this life.

Then Maximus, burning with the fire of ambition, panted impatiently after the archbishopric, and at last he was elected, not, it is said, without the stigma of simony. He did not, as was customary, go to the Holy See to be consecrated, but sent word first to the emperors in Constantinople² and gained their good will. All the same, they instructed him that he should present himself before the pope. But, aware of the irregularity of his election, Maximus did not go to the pope, and nor did he seek the consent of the papal apocrisary. Instead, recklessly rushing ahead, he had himself consecrated as archbishop there where he was.

When this matter came to the attention of the pope he was deeply pained, and immediately sent word to Maximus strictly forbidding him to celebrate the rites of the mass. Maximus, however, was entangled in the crime of schism, and so with an obstinate purpose he scorned the pope's command. Instead, with confidence in the power of his kinsmen and other laymen, for whom he had stripped bare his church in order to provide gifts, Maximus proceeded to celebrate mass and assume all the rights, privileges and trappings of an archbishop. Thereupon Saint Gregory wrote to the clergy and people of Salona,³ forbidding anyone from having communion with Maximus, one who had despoiled the priesthood. But so great was the fear of Maximus and his accomplices that no one dared openly to avoid him. However, Archdeacon Honoratus and a certain Bishop Paulinus,⁴ being right-minded and steadfast men, ob-

⁴ In his letters of 596, Pope Gregory I styles Paulinus as his *coepiscopus* (Greg. *Epp.* VI.25–6), but it is not clear what that means.

et constantes erant viri, preceptum summi pontificis observabant, ipsum Maximum tanquam scismaticum et excommunicatum ubique vitantes. Demum vero, cum ab ipsis imperatoribus Maximus corripere, quod tam protervus et rebellis contra Deum et pape preceptum existeret, ad se reversus misit nuntios suos Romam promittens se satisfacturum de criminibus, unde fuerat infamatus. Hac denique beatus Gregorius promissione placatus remisit ad Maximum mandans ei, ut personaliter accederet usque Ravennam. Tunc Maximus preparato navigio Ravennam advenit expectans ibi pape preceptum. Misit itaque beatus Gregorius quendam notarium suum nomine Castorium¹ precipiens Mariano² archiepiscopo Ravenati, ut ambo pariter causam ipsius Maximi tali deberent fine concludere, videlicet ut de symoniaca heresi, unde infamatus erat, suo iuramento purgationem subiret; de aliis vero excessibus ante corpus beati Apollinaris se esse innoxium verbo simplici affirmaret;³ de hoc vero, quod excommunicatus celebrare presumpsit, penitentiam ei iniungerent competentem. Sicque huius Maximi causa sopita est.⁴

VII. QUALITER SALONA CAPTA EST

Interea Salonitana urbs propter barbarorum vicinitatem, qui eam cotidianis insultibus impugnabant, ad deteriora labi cotidie cogebatur. Erantque in ea civiles discordie, nec satis arguto moderamine res publica regebatur. Non erat rector sapiens, qui refrenaret superbiam, qui puniret nequitiam, sed voluntas propria unicuique pro iustitia habebatur. Qui plus poterat, colebatur, impotentes prede patebant. Iustitia procul aberat, totum pravitas occupabat. Timor Dei, sanctorum reverentia, miseri-

¹ For Castorius' involvement, see Greg. *Epp.* IX.67, 79–80, 125.

² *Recte*: Marinianus. See Greg. *Epp.* IX.10, 79, 125.

³ In 599 (Greg. *Epp.* IX.80).

served the pope's command and everywhere shunned Maximus as a schismatic and excommunicate. It was not until Maximus had been reprimanded by those emperors themselves for being so impudent and rebellious towards God and the pope's command that he reconsidered. He then sent his emissaries to Rome, promising that he would offer satisfaction for the crimes of which he had been accused. Saint Gregory, reassured by this promise at last, sent a reply to Maximus, charging him to appear in person in Ravenna. Maximus then readied a ship and traveled to Ravenna, where he awaited the pope's instructions. Saint Gregory sent one of his notaries, named Castorius,¹ there, directing Marianus,² the archbishop of Ravenna, that the two of them together should finally bring the case of Maximus to an end. Namely, concerning the heresy of simony that had been imputed to Maximus, he should undergo compurgation by personal oath; while for the other misdeeds he should by simple statement affirm his innocence before the body of the blessed Apollinaris.³ In the matter of presuming to celebrate mass when excommunicate, they should impose the requisite penance on him. And so the case of Maximus was laid to rest.⁴

7 HOW SALONA WAS TAKEN

Meanwhile, the city of Salona was subject to daily attacks on account of the proximity of the barbarians, and every day its situation worsened inexorably. There was civil discord as well, and the state lacked sound governance. There was no wise governor who could restrain overweening ambition and punish iniquity; instead, each man regarded his own urges as just. Those who had the most power were respected; the powerless were preyed upon. Justice had long departed; depravity held sway everywhere. The fear of God, reverence for the saints, mercy

⁴ In August 599. After that time Pope Gregory styles Maximus as the bishop of Salona (Greg. *Epp.* IX.81).

cordia et pietas expiraverant, odia, rapine, usure, periuria et alia facinora totam invaserant civitatem. Relligio erat derisui, clerus contemptui, humilitas superbie succumbebat. Debita subtrahebant ecclesiis, indebita exigebant. Preterea rector civitatis non communiter, sed divisim querebatur; nec qui prodesset omnibus, sed qui privatim aut amicorum comodum aut inimicorum incomodum procuraret. Et sic in civitate multi erant domini, pauci subditi, multi precipientes, pauci obedientes, non quasi patriam diligebant, sed quasi hostilem terram predari rapaciter satagebant, sumptus reipublice potentiores quique diripientes totum onus communis servitii miseris pauperibus imponebant. Preter hec vero improba Venus¹ omnem ordinem, omnem sexum et etatem absque ullo pudoris velamine sordidabat. Dissolutio voluptatis marcebat in iuvenibus, obstinatio avaritiae rigeat in senibus, veneficia in mulieribus, perversitas in omnibus abundabat. Iniurias illatas concivibus pro gloria reputabant. Intra urbem multum feroces et audaces videbantur, sed contra hostes exeuntes timidi et imbelles inveniebantur. Talibus et his similibus Salona corrupta vitiis, quid poterat nisi ad yma vergere? Quid restabat nisi ad interitum festinare?

Qualiter autem finaliter eversa fuerit, non satis perspicuum est. Nos vero, ut in precedentibus, partim scripta, partim relata, partim opinionem sequentes conemur exponere.²

Gothorum tempore, qui Totila duce de partibus Teutonie et Polonie exierunt, dicitur Salona fuisse destructa.³ Etenim dux

¹ Lit.: Venus.

² In this chapter, Thomas gives a rhetorical description of the fall of Salona modeled on the destruction of several different cities described in the Bible (Sodom and Gomorrah, Babylon), and not an accurate description of the events. For more details, see MMS, 347–73.

³ Totila was, in fact, king of the Ostrogoths in Italy (541–52). Thomas' source was apparently the twelfth-century chronicle known as the *Chronicle of the Priest of Duklja* (cap. 2), which mentions Totila and his brother Ostroilo as leaders of the "Goths" during their settlement. The *Chronicle* otherwise ex-

and pity were dead. Enmity, theft, usury, perjury and other evils had taken hold of the entire city. Religion was laughed at; the clergy were held in contempt; humility was trampled by pride. The churches were denied their dues, or subject to unwarranted exactions. Moreover, the governor of the city was not chosen communally, but by separate interests, and not to protect the interests of all but to ensure privately that friends profited and enemies were disadvantaged. And so in the city many would be master, few subject; there were many to command, few to obey. It was not as if they loved their country, but rather as if they regarded it as an enemy land to be rapaciously and ruthlessly plundered. The more powerful helped themselves to the wealth of the state, and left the whole burden of community service to the hapless poor. Moreover, brazen lust¹ defiled every class, sex and age without the least vestige of shame. Dissolute pleasures weakened the young; the old grew hard and stubborn with greed. The sorcerous preparation of magic potions was rife among women, and perversity rife among everyone. Injuries committed against fellow citizens were counted as a deed to be gloried in. Within the city they frequently appeared fierce and bold, but faced with an enemy outside, they proved to be cowardly and unfit for war. Corrupted by these and similar vices, where else could Salona go but downwards? What remained for it but to hasten to its destruction?

But how its final fall came about is not wholly clear. As in the foregoing, I shall attempt to explain it partly from writing, partly from hearsay, and partly by relying upon conjecture.²

It is said that the destruction of Salona occurred in the time of the Goths, who left the regions of Germany and Poland under the leadership of Totila.³ Before making war on Italy this same

explicitly identifies the Goths with the Slavs (*Gothi, qui et Sclavi*; cap. 5); see *Ljetopis popa Dukljanina* [Chronicle of the Priest of Duklja], ed. by Vladimir Mošin (Zagreb: Matica hrvatska, 1950), pp. 41–3 and 46. The reference to Poland in the sixth century is of course anachronistic.

ipse, antequam arma inferret Ytalie, per partes Dalmatie vastando transivit Salonamque urbem ex parte vastavit. Ipse intravit prescriptum edificium Dioclitiani cesaris et imperiales titulos ibidem sculptos deposuit atque delevit, aliquam etiam partem eiusdem edificii destrui fecit.

Venerant de partibus Polonie, qui Lingones appellantur, cum Totila septem vel octo tribus nobilium.¹ Hi videntes terram Chroatie aptam sibi fore ad habitandum, quia rari in ea coloni manebant, petierunt et optinuerunt eam a duce suo. Remanentes ergo ibidem, ceperunt opprimere indigenas et ad suum servitium subigere violenter.

Chroatia est regio montuosa,² a septemtrione adheret Dalmatie. Hec regio antiquitus vocabatur Curetia et populi, qui nunc dicuntur Chroate, dicebantur Curetes vel Coribantes, unde Lucanus: *Illic bellaci confisus gente Curetum, quos alit Adriaco tellus circumflua ponto.*³ Dicebantur vero Curetes quasi currentes⁴ et instabiles, quia per montes et silvas oberrantes agrestem vitam ducebant. Ex asperitate quidem patrie naturam trahentes armorum asperitatibus, invasionibus, predationibus, ferino more gaudebant. Bellaces valde et quasi pro nichilo ducentes se morti exponere, nudos se plerumque hostilibus armis obiciunt. Hi apud plures poetarum de quadam ridiculosa opinione notantur. Etenim quando luna eclipsin patitur, putantes eam a spiritibus corrodi et consumi, omnia eramenta domorum pulsan, quasi per strepitum fugatis demonibus credunt lune succurrere labo-

¹ Thomas' source for this statement was apparently Adam of Bremen (*Gesta Hammaburgensis ecclesiae pontificum*, II.21 [18]), who mentions the Lingones as a Slavonic tribe living east of the Elbe; see Werner Trillmich and Rudolf Buchner H (eds.), *Quellen des 9. und 11. Jahrhunderts zur Geschichte der Hamburgischen Kirche und des Reiches*, Ausgewählte Quellen zur deutschen Geschichte des Mittelalters 11 (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1978, 5th ed.), p. 253. His account was quoted also by Helmold (*Chronica Sclavorum*, I.2), see Helmold von Bosau, *Slawenchronik*, ed. Heinz Stooß, *Ausgewählte Quellen zur deutschen Geschichte des Mittelalters* 19 (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1963), pp. 40–3.

leader passed through Dalmatia, laying this region waste, and he also partly destroyed the city of Salona. He even entered the edifice of Emperor Diocletian that has been described above, and pulled down and obliterated the imperial inscriptions carved there, and also destroyed a part of the building itself.

With Totila there had come from the region of Poland seven or eight tribes of nobles called Lingones.¹ On seeing that the land of Croatia would be suitable for them to settle in, because few inhabitants remained in it, they sought and obtained this land from their leader. So they settled there, and began to oppress the natives and by force to reduce them to servitude.

Croatia is a mountainous country.² It joins Dalmatia on the north. In ancient times this region was called Curetia, and the people who are now called Croats were called Curetes or Corybantes. Hence Lucan: *He had trust in the warlike race of the Curetes, whom the earth that the Adriatic Sea flows around nourishes.*³ The Curetes were so called because they were, so to speak, “running about”⁴ and unsettled, for they wandered over mountains and through forests and led a savage life. Taking their nature from the wildness of their homeland, they delight in the harshness of warfare, in attack and in depredation, like wild beasts. They are extremely warlike, and as they consider it of no account to expose themselves to death, they commonly hurl themselves without armor against the enemy’s weapons. But in many of the poets an amusing story is told of these people: when the moon undergoes an eclipse, they imagine that it is being gnawed and devoured by spirits, and they beat all the bronze vessels that they have in their houses, as if by the din they could come to the aid of the struggling moon by driving

² That which follows is a topical *excursus* characteristic for the genre of the *origo gentis* in the form of a digression from the main narrative.

³ *Phars.* IV.406–7.

⁴ That is, *currentes*.

ranti, unde Virgilius: *pulsantes era Curetes*.¹ Permixti ergo sunt populi isti et facti sunt gens una, vita moribusque consimiles, unius loquele. Ceperunt autem habere proprios duces. Et quamvis pravi essent et feroces, tamen christiani erant, sed rudes valde. Ariana etiam erant tabe respersi. Gothi a pluribus dicebantur et nichilominus Sclavi, secundum proprietatem nominis eorum, qui de Polonia seu Bohemia venerant.

Isti, ut predictum est, impugnabant Latinos, qui regiones maritimas habitabant, maxime autem Salonam, que caput erat totius provincie. Hec civitas a statu sue potentie valde iam erat collapsa, et in facultatibus nimis atrita. Rector etiam oportunus in civitate non erat, quam ob rem ab inimicis facile capi potuit et vastari.

Igitur dux Gothus, qui toti preerat Sclavonie,² coadunato magno exercitu equitum peditumque descendit de montibus et castra posuit ex orientali parte civitatis, sed et aliam turmam sui exercitus fecit castra metari ex occidentali parte supra mare cepitque ex omni parte oppugnare Salonam, nunc sagittis, nunc iaculis insistentes. Alii vero ex latere montis prominentis, ingenti strepitu fundis lapides ad menia intorquebant, alii uno agmine conglobati sensimque menibus propinquant, portas infringere perquirebant. At vero Salonitani per menia diffusi hostium iacula nunc propugnaculis, nunc clipeis excipientes viriliter resistebant. In hostes nichilominus ingentes lapides revolvebant, ad eos vero, qui eminus dimicabant, alii e machinis lapides iaciebant, alii balistis et arcubus fortiter sagittabant sicque diebus non paucis utrimque frustra certatum est. Sed quid valet annis hominis, ubi divine protectionis gratia deest?

¹ Cf. *Georg.* IV.149–53.

² *Sclavonia* was the term used in medieval writers mostly for denoting Slavic lands in general or any one of them (e.g. Croatia). Slavonia proper (basically the area between the Sava and the Drava rivers) is rarely referred to in Thomas.

the demons away. Whence Vergil: *The Curetes who beat bronze vessels*.¹ These peoples then intermingled and formed one nation, alike in life and customs and with one language. They also began to have their own chiefs. And although they were vicious and ferocious, they were also Christians, albeit extremely primitive ones. They had also been infected with the cancer of Arianism. Many called them Goths, but also Slavs, which was the name of those who had come from Poland or Bohemia.

These, as already stated, kept attacking the Latins who lived in the coastal regions, and especially Salona, the chief city of the whole province. This city had now declined greatly from the heyday of its power, and its resources were much diminished. Moreover, there was no competent governor in the city, as a result of which it was an easy thing for an enemy to seize the city and lay it waste.

So the Gothic duke who ruled over all of Slavonia² collected a great army of cavalry and infantry; then, descending from the mountains, he pitched camp on the eastern side of the city. But he also had another contingent of his army encamp on the western side, by the sea. Then he began to attack Salona from every side, harrying the city now with arrows, now with javelins, while from the mountain that overlooked the city others with slings hurled stones at the walls, creating a deafening din. Yet others massed together in one column and gradually drew near to the walls and sought to break through the gates. But the Salonitans, having spread out along the walls, fought back valiantly, intercepting the javelins of the enemy now with shields, now thanks to the battlements. At the same time they rolled down huge stones upon the enemy; meanwhile, against those who were attacking from afar some hurled stones from machines, while others shot vigorously from catapults and bows. And thus for no few days, both sides strove in vain. But of what worth are human efforts when the gift of divine protection is absent? For in atonement for the many sins communally and

Cum pro multis piaculis communiter singulariterque commissis superne ultionis iudicio peccatrix civitas hostili foret gladio evertenda, periit mens et consilium a civibus, presul nullus erat, rector inutilis, populus dissolutus, quid esset consultius, nesciebant. Alii erant nimis timidi, alii plus equo securi. Sic labe factari civitas primitus a se ipsa incepit. Igitur hostium caterve non cessabant cotidie civitatem miseram impugnare. Salonitani vero languentibus iam et defessis viribus, multitudinis impetum non sustinentes iamque posse resistere desperantes, ipsa etiam menia non ex corde servabant tantusque metus incubuit, ut ob-rigescentes animis nil nisi de fuga singuli cogitabant.

Factum est autem, ut die quadam aliqui ex ditioribus civitatis res suas latenter ad mare asportantes inferre navibus properarent. Quod videntes universe civitatis vulgus, mulieres simul et parvuli, conglobatim omnes ad portum irrumpere, naves scandere, huc illucque diffugere moliuntur. Rapiebant certatim quicquid poterant de domibus, clamor matronarum et virginum ingenti strepitu ferebatur ad celum. Nec quicquam miseri sarcinulis onerati ad portum properant, naviculis se ingerere satagentes, alii autem vix nudi et vacui insilire in lembos poterant, alii innatare ad naves, alii conamine infelici inter ipsas perstreptentium turmas in fluctibus mergebantur.

At vero hostes in civitatem subito irrumpentes fugientes a tergo cedere, prede instare, nulli occursanti parcere, ignem domibus apponere non cessabant. Mox ubi miserabilis civitas suorum destituta presidiis filiorum, hostili populo repleretur, non iam erat, qui ecclesiis parceret, non qui structuris antiquis et speciosis misereretur palatiis, sed totam succedentes in furoris impetu civitatem, brevi hora in carbonem et cinerem redegerunt.

individually committed, vengeance from on high had sentenced that sinful city to be destroyed by the sword of the enemy. Reason and purpose deserted the citizens; there was no bishop; the governor was ineffectual; the people were in disarray and did not know what best to do. Some were all too fearful, others more hopeful than was warranted. Thus the city was undermined first from within. The bands of enemy soldiers did not cease from daily assaulting the hapless city. The Salonitans, their strength weakening now and grown faint, not able to withstand the force of the multitude, and now despairing of being able to resist, did not even guard their walls wholeheartedly. And such great fear weighed upon them that their minds grew paralyzed, and one by one each began to think only of escape.

Then one day some of the wealthier people of the city carried their possessions in secret to the sea and hastened to load them onto ships. Seeing this, the common people from all over the city, women and children too, struggled in a mass to force their way to the harbor, to climb aboard the ships, and to flee in one direction or other. They hurriedly snatched whatever they could from their houses. The cries of matrons and young girls rose to the heavens in a deafening uproar. In vain the wretches hurried to the harbors, burdened with their scant baggage and desperate to board the ships. Others, however, unencumbered by possessions or clothing, managed to leap aboard small boats, while some even swam to the ships; still others tried to, but sank beneath the waves amid the crowds struggling in the water.

The enemy burst into the city forthwith, and ceaselessly attacked those fleeing from behind, hunted for plunder, spared no one that they came across, and set fire to the houses. Soon the wretched city, deprived of the protection of her sons, was filled with a hostile people; there was no one who would have mercy on the churches or the ancient buildings and beautiful palaces, but rather the enemy in the fury of their attack set fire to everything in the city, and in one brief hour reduced the

De tot enim divitiis paucas rapuere manubias, hoc pro maximis victoriae premiis reputabant, quod tam egregiam urbem absque ulla pene sui exercitus strage dare exterminio potuerunt.

Quis autem enumerare valeat, quot miseros cives, quot puellas infelices, quot pueros abduxere captivos? Quis comemoret eorum multitudinem, quos voravit gladius, quos consumpsit incendium, quos mare obsorbuit fugientes? At cives miseri rogum dulcis patrie inspectantes, non dolere poterant, non flere licebat super eam, sed singuli vite proprie metuentes classem abducere properabant. Nec vacabat convocare consilium, nec quid de salute publica foret agendum deliberare valebant, sed unusquisque de sua familia anxius, cum rebus, quas de funere patrie subripuisse poterat, quo diverteret, cogitabat. Hoc etiam agere consulte nequibant, quippe in tam precipiti fuga confuse et inordinate ad naves conscenderant, quia nec pater inquirebat filium, neque filius patrem, uxor non respiciebat maritum, nec maritus uxorem: unica spes miseris patrios discedere fines. Qui ante recesserant, non expectabant extremos, qui extremi fuerant, non retardare poterant properantes. Quasi ebrii vel amentes, nonnisi in sola fuga presidium exquirentes, nesciebant quam tutius arriperent viam. Heu quam triste erat spectaculum miserabilium mulierum crines lacerantium, pectora genasque tundentium! Quantus erat ululatus et planctus nescientium quid potius, ignem an gladium, evitarent.

VIII. QUALITER AD INSULAS SALONITANI FUGERUNT

Postquam procul iam a litore rates subduxerant, sparsim alii ad alias insulas properabant. Alii vero nec in insulis se satis tutos

whole to coals and ashes. So from all the riches there they took but little plunder. Rather, they believed the greatest prize of the victory to be that they put an end to this splendid city with hardly any loss to their own army.

Who could count how many unfortunate citizens, how many hapless girls and boys, they took away as captives? Who could remember the multitude of those killed by the sword, consumed by fire, or drowned while fleeing by sea? The citizens, though, were not free to grieve as they beheld the funeral pyre of their sweet homeland; they were not able to cry over it, but each person, fearing for his own life, hurried to put the ships to sea. There was no time to hold common counsel, and nor could they debate what to do for the common salvation, but everybody, anxious for his own family, was thinking separately where to go with the few belongings that they had snatched from the funeral of the city. Even in this they could not act effectively, because in their headlong flight they had boarded the ships in confusion and disorder. The father had not searched for his son, and nor had the son for his father; the wife had not taken thought for her husband nor the husband for his wife. The only hope for the poor people was to leave their native land the bounds of their country. Those who escaped first did not wait for those who were last; those who escaped last did not slow those who were rushing ahead. They did not know which way was safest, and as if drunk or witless they sought safety in flight alone. Alas, how mournful a spectacle it was to see the poor women tearing their hair and beating their breasts and faces! How great their wailing and mourning, not knowing what most to flee, sword or fire!

8 HOW THE SALONITANS FLED TO THE ISLANDS

When the boats had drawn a long distance from the shore, the Salonitans dispersed. Some hurried to various islands. Others,

posse fieri arbitantes longius remigabant. Tandem pars aliqua tenuit insulam, que Soluta vocatur, alii ad Bratie, alii ad Faron, alii ad portus Lysie et Corrcire applicuerunt.

Ergo de navibus exeuntes ceperunt singuli familias suas inquire, per alias et alias insulas mittere, seseque per tribus iungere; qui se inveniebant, letabantur tantum periculum evasisse, qui vero non inveniebantur, pro mortuis plangebantur. Ubi autem tanti mali dolor et mestitia conquievit aliquantulum, ceperunt se ad invicem consolari. Tunc omnes incipiunt tuguria ex frondibus viminibusque contexere seseque per loca competentia collocare. Ceperunt alii alia negotia exercere. Hi terram incolunt, hi navibus negotiantes per mare discurrunt. Pro dolor, quot opulenti et delicati in Salona fuerant, qui tunc ad aliena hostia panem miserabiliter mendicabant! Tunc electi iuvenes armatis liburnis¹ ceperunt per Dalmatie litora discurrentes hostibus insidiari. Tantas enim cedes et predas de ipsis cotidie faciebant, quod nullus Sclavorum erat ausus ad mare descendere. His etenim modis Salonitani erumnosam vitam ducentes multo tempore in insulis comorati sunt.

Eodem tempore Iohannes summus pontifex apostolice sedis,² cum esset Dalmatinus natione, audiens sue gentis miserabilem casum valde condoluit missitque abbatem quendam, Martinum nomine, cum multa pecunie quantitate pro redimendis captivis. Qui veniens ad partes Dalmatie multos redemit captivos de Sclavis eosque ad parentes suos remisit. Iste Martinus ex apostolica iussione multorum sanctorum reliquias accepit in partibus Dalmatie et Ystrie et detulit eas Romam ad predictum

¹ See above, n. 1 on p. 4.

² Pope John IV (640–2). That which follows is an almost verbatim quotation from the *Liber pontificalis* (vol. 1, p. 262). This is the only place in a block of several chapters of Thomas' work that may be exactly dated. It is also noteworthy that Thomas' description of the Lateran's mosaic differs from that in the *Liber pontificalis*, because he explicitly mentions SS. Domnius and Anastasius, while the *Liber pontificalis* mentions SS. Venantius, Anastasius and Maurus. It may be assumed that Thomas personally saw the mosaic while

judging that they would not be safe even on the islands, rowed further. In the end, one group of them occupied the island called Šolta, others landed at Brač and Hvar, and still others made for the harbors of Vis and Korčula.

Then, disembarking from the ships, each began to search for his family, sending messages from one island to another, and joining themselves together in their clans. Those who found each other rejoiced at having escaped such great danger; those who were not found were lamented as dead. When the grief and sadness at so great a misfortune had abated somewhat, they began to comfort one another. Then everyone began to weave huts from branches and osier and to settle in suitable places. They started to engage in different occupations: some cultivated the land; some traversed the sea in ships engaging in trade. Alas, how many rich and pampered people there had been in Salona who now pitifully begged for bread at strangers' doors. Then the best of the youth in longships¹ plied up and down the Dalmatian coast, lying in wait to ambush the enemy. Indeed, so much slaughter and plundering did they inflict on them day after day that none of the Slavs dared to come down to the sea. In this fashion the Salonitans, leading their broken lives, dwelled for a long time on the islands.

At that time John was the supreme pontiff of the Apostolic See of Rome.² Being himself a Dalmatian, he was greatly filled with pity on hearing of the pitiful fate of his people, and sent an abbot named Martin with a large sum of money to use for ransoming captives. When Abbot Martin came to Dalmatia, he ransomed many captives from the Slavs and returned them to their families. On the pope's instructions, Martin also took into his possession many holy relics from Dalmatia and Istria,

in Rome. The mosaic is still extant in the Oratory of St. Venantius within the complex of the basilica of St. John Lateran. For photographs of the mosaic, see *Salona Christiana*, ed. by Emilio Marin (Split: Arheološki muzej, 1994), pp. 103–4, pictures 9–11.

papam Iohannem. Qui venerabilis pontifex eas reverenter suscipiens recondidit apud ecclesiam beati Iohannis Lateranensis, ubi est fons baptisterii et ibidem iuxta fecit depingi ymaginem beati Domnii cum pallio et ceteris pontificalibus indumentis totum ex musio aureo. Similiter fecit ymaginem beati Anastasii inter alios sanctos.

Per idem fere tempus quidam advene, ut ferunt, Romana urbe depulsi, non longe ab Epitauro ratibus applicuerunt. Erat autem Epitauros episcopalis civitas, Salonitane ecclesie suffraganea. Quod ex epistola beati Gregorii pape conicimus, quam misit Natali archiepiscopo Salonitano, arguens ipsum, quia absque auctoritate synodali quendam Florentium Epitauritane ecclesie episcopum pro quibusdam iniectis criminibus, sed non probatis, deposuerat. Cuius causam comisit predictus papa suo subdiacono Antonio, quem in Salonam fuisse missum superius memoravimus.¹ Prenotati ergo advene sedem sibi in illis partibus collocantes civitatem Epitaurum sepius impugnantes nimium atriverunt, atritamque ceperunt et captam in solitudinem redegerunt. Homines autem cum eis permixti sunt et facti sunt populus unus. Edificaverunt Ragusium et habitaverunt in eo.² Ex eo tempore conari ceperunt pallium suo episcopo optinere.

IX. QUALITER SALONITANI PER DIVERSA SUNT LOCA DISPERSI

Interea Salonitani in insulis commorantes magno afficiebantur tedio propter terre sterilitatem et propter aquarum penuriam ingenti etiam desiderio cupiebant ad patriam reverti. Sed licet Salona deserta iaceret nullique hostes auderent in ea manere, Salonitanis tamen videbatur non satis tuta statio ibi fieri posse. Hostile quippe incendium consumpserat omnia, turrets et menia

¹ Greg. *Epp.* III.8–9.

² See above, n. 2, p. 6.

and carried them to Pope John in Rome. The venerable pontiff received them reverently and deposited them in the church of Saint John Lateran, where the baptismal font is. And next to it he caused to be depicted an image of Saint Domnius with his *pallium* and other episcopal vestments, all in gold mosaic. Similarly he had Saint Anastasius depicted together with other saints.

It was at about this time that some strangers—driven from the city of Rome, as they say—landed in their boats not far from Epidaurus. Epidaurus was an episcopal city, a suffragan of the church of Salona, as we infer from a letter of Pope Gregory to Natalis, the archbishop of Salona; for in the letter Gregory accuses Natalis of having deposed Florentius, the bishop of Epidaurus, without synodal authority, for certain crimes that had been alleged against him but not proven; the pope entrusted the case to his subdeacon Antony, whom he had sent to Salona, as we have recounted earlier.¹ The aforementioned foreigners established themselves in that region and wore down the city of Epidaurus greatly by repeated attacks. When it had been worn down they took it, and after taking it they laid it waste utterly. However, the newcomers intermixed with the populace, and they became one people. They built Dubrovnik and settled there.² From that time they sought to obtain the *pallium* for their own bishop.

9 HOW THE SALONITANS DISPERSED TO VARIOUS PLACES

Meanwhile, the Salonitans dwelling on the islands were much irked by the barrenness of the land and the shortage of water. They were also filled with a great longing to return to their homeland. But although Salona lay deserted and no enemy ventured to remain there, it did not appear to the Salonitans that it could ever be made a secure place to stay. For everything had been devastated by enemy fires, and the towers and walls

prostrata iacebant. Solum teatri edificium,¹ quod in occidentali parte constructum fuerat, adhuc integrum remanebat. Sic ergo miseri cives hinc rerum urgebantur inopia, illinc metus adhuc deterrebat hostilis. Et quia pars magna eorum per orbem erat dispersa et ipsi pauci et inopes remanserant, de reedificanda civitate deliberare non presumebant.

Unde factum est, ut aliqui ex ipsis exeuntes de insulis per diversas partes Dalmatici litoris oportuna sibi ad habitandum loca querebant. Quidam versus occidentalem plagam navigantes ad portum cuiusdam urbis antique sed dirute applicuerunt. Et videntes locum satis habilem ad manendum paraverunt ibi aliquod munimentum et habitaverunt in eo. Et quia situs loci propter adiacentes insulas et propter comoditatem portus multum eis placebat, non habebant iam necesse ad Salonam redire. Nichil enim eis videbatur deesse preter fluvium Yadrum, qui ex orientali parte Salonitane urbi multum delectabiliter influebat. De quo legitur in Lucano: *Qua maris Adriaci longas ferit unda Salonas et trepidum in molles zefiros excurrit Yader*.² Hoc igitur sepius nominato urbi nomen impositum est Yadria vel, ut quibusdam placet, ab Yadrio conditore Yadria nomen accepit.³

X. QUALITER DE INSULIS REDEUNTES SPALATUM INTRAVERUNT

Erat autem inter Salonitanos, qui ad proximas insulas seceserant, vir quidam, Severus nomine, cuius domus fuerat iuxta columnas palatii supra mare. Hic quia pre ceteris maiori auctori-

¹ Thomas is here referring to the amphitheater in the western part of the city, the remains of which are still visible. The theater was a smaller building, and its remains are still mostly uncovered.

² *Phars.* IV.404–5: *Qua maris Adriaci longas ferit unda Salonas / Et tepidum in molles zephyros excurrit Iader*. However, Thomas changes *tepidum* to *trepidum*.

lay in ruins; only the theater building,¹ which had been built in the western part of the city, had remained intact up to this time. Thus the hapless citizens were pulled in opposite directions, between the urging of material want and a lingering fear of the enemy. And because the greater part of them were by now scattered over the world, and those who remained were few and destitute, they did not presume to think of rebuilding their city.

And so it came about that some of them left the islands and searched for suitable places to settle along different parts of the Dalmatian coast. Some sailing westward came to the harbor of an ancient but destroyed city; seeing that the place was quite suitable to dwell, they prepared there some sort of fortification and lived in it. The location of the site with nearby islands and the advantage of the harbor pleased them greatly, and they no longer felt the need to return to Salona. Indeed, nothing appeared to them to be lacking, apart from the Jadro, the river that flowed most pleasantly from the east through the city of Salona. Of it we read in Lucan: *Where the wave of the Adriatic strikes long Salona, and the Iader flows out trembling to meet the soft zephyrs.*² Thus it was that this name Iadria was given to this oft-mentioned city; alternatively, as some would have it, it received its name Iadria from its founder, Iadrius.³

10 HOW THEY RETURNED FROM THE ISLANDS TO SPLIT

Among the Salonitans who had withdrawn to the nearly islands was a man named Severus, whose house had been located by the sea next to the columns of the palace. This man, because he had greater authority than the others, was called Severus

³ Thomas cannot refer to any other town but Zadar, however unclear the preceding sentences may be. The river Jadro (in Croatian), actually flows near Split across the ancient site of Salona (see, e.g., ch. 46, pp. 362–3, below) and is otherwise called Salona (in Latin) by Thomas.

tate pollebat, magnus Severus appellabatur.¹ Iste cepit adhortari concives suos, ut ad patriam redirent. Sed quia non erat tutum inter ruinas urbis antiquae habitacula ponere, consulebat eis, ut in edificio Dioclitiani se interim reciperent,² ubi securius comorantes aliquam saltem particulam sui territorii incolere sine magno timore valerent, donec rebus prosperius succedentibus Salonam reedificandi possibile foret. Et tandem placuit hoc consilium nobilibus et popularibus universis et tale pactum inter se statuerunt, ut ditiores sibi domos propriis sumptibus edificarent, ceteri vero, quibus res non erat sufficiens pro domibus construendis, haberent turres circumpositas pro habitaculis suis, reliquum vulgus habitaret in fornicibus et in criptis.

Tunc auferentes omnia, que habebant in insulis, ac navibus imponentes transtulerunt se cum mulieribus et parvulis exceptis animalibus et venientes intraverunt predictum edificium, quod non pro civitate sed pro regia aula constructum erat. Et quia spatiosum erat palatium, Spalatum appellare ceperunt.³ Ibi ergo se collocantes posuerunt habitacula vilia, sicut temporis necessitas cogebat.

Et sic illa populosa civitas Salona, nobilis et antiqua, pro multis peccatis, que in Deum comiserat, ad tantam extitit miseriam devoluta, ut de illa magna sui populi frequentia non tot remanserant, qui possent illius parvi oppidi ambitum civibus replere, sed in ea parte, que supra mare respicit, se componentes reliquam partem urbicule vacuum dimiserunt.

¹ Severus the Great is mentioned in an inscription dated to the time of Emperor Theodosius III (715–7) as the grandfather of a certain *comes*, which indirectly points to the fact that he lived in the middle of the seventh century (Farlati 4: 306).

the Great.¹ It was he who began to urge his fellow citizens to return to their homeland. But because it was unsafe to erect dwellings among the ruins of the old city, he advised them for the time being to retire inside the palace of Diocletian,² where they could live more securely and inhabit at least a small part of their territory without too much fear, until such time as their fortunes improved and it would be possible to rebuild Salona under more favorable circumstances. This advice pleased the nobility and the people alike, and they came to an agreement that the wealthier would erect houses for themselves at their own expense, while the others whose means were not sufficient to build houses would use the surrounding towers as their dwellings; as for the rest of the common people, they would live in the vaults and underground passages.

Then they took away everything that they had on the islands, apart from their animals, and placing it on ships, brought themselves across with their wives and children, and they entered the aforementioned edifice, which had been built not as a city but as a royal palace. And so spacious was the palace that they took to calling it "Spalatum."³ There they established themselves and constructed simple dwellings, as necessity dictated at the time.

And so that populous city of Salona, renowned and ancient, had, on account of the many sins that its people had committed against God, fallen into such wretchedness that of that great crowd of her people not enough citizens remained to populate the whole area of even that small town, but they settled just in that part that looks upon the sea, and left the remaining part of the little city empty.

² See above, ch. 4.

³ See above, n. 6, p. 21.

Tunc ceperunt paulatim exire et terras prope positas colere. Ubi autem Gothorum duces audierunt, Salonitanos cives de insulis fuisse reversos, protinus ceperunt exercitum ducere contra ipsos, vastantes omnia culta eorum nec permittentes eos extra muros exire. Tunc cives inter se consilio habito legationem miserunt ad imperatores Constantinopolitanos¹ supplicantes et petentes, ut liceret eis in Spalato habitare et territorium sue civitatis Salone iure pristino possidere. Quod et factum est. Nam impetratis omnibus, que volebant, ad concives suos legati redierunt portantes sacrum rescriptum dominorum principum. Iussio etiam ad duces Gothorum et Sclavorum missa est districte precipiens, ut nullam Salonitanis civibus in Spalato degentibus molestiam irrogarent.

Accepta ergo iussione principum non fuerunt ausi ulterius contra Spalatenses arma movere. Tunc inter eos pace composita ceperunt Spalatenses cum Sclavis paulatim conversari, commerciorum negocia exercere, conubia iungere ac paccatos eos sibi et familiares reddere.

XI. DE IOHANNE PRIMO ARCHIEPISCOPO² SPALATINO

Interea summus pontifex misit quendam legatum Iohannem nomine, patria Ravenatem,³ qui partes Dalmatie et Chroatie peragrando, salutaribus monitis christicolae informaret. In ecclesia autem Salonitana a tempore subversionis presul non fuerat ordinatus. Venerabilis ergo Iohannes cepit clerum et populum exortari, ut archiepiscopatum civitatis antike intra se instaurare deberent. Quod illis valde gratum extitit et ac-

¹ Thomas' source for the story is not clear, and consequently nor is the identity of the emperors to whom he is referring, as well as the documentary value of the story itself. Both issues were heavily debated by Croatian historians, whose proposals for dating of the alleged events vary from the seventh to the ninth century. See MMS, pp. 369–73.

² The title in itself is an anachronism inherent in the *causa scribendi* of Thomas' work. In fact, Split became an archbishopric only in the 920s.

Afterwards they began little by little to venture out and to cultivate the lands close to their settlement. But when the leaders of the Goths heard that the citizens of Salona had returned from the islands, they at once led an army against them, laying waste all that they had cultivated and not allowing them to venture outside of their walls. Then the citizens took counsel among themselves and sent a delegation to the emperors in Constantinople,¹ asking and entreating that they might be allowed to live in Split and retain the territory of their city of Salona by their former right. And so, indeed, it came about. The delegates were granted everything that they wanted, and returned to their fellow citizens carrying the sacred rescript of the noble rulers. And a command was sent to the chiefs of the Goths and the Slavs, strictly forbidding them to trouble the citizens of Salona who were now living in Split.

When they received this order from the emperors, these people no longer dared to make war on the Spalatins. Then peace was made between them, and little by little the people of Split began to have dealings with the Slavs, to carry on business and trade, to intermarry, and to cause them to be peaceful and friendly towards them.

11 JOHN, THE FIRST ARCHBISHOP² OF SPLIT

Meanwhile the pope sent a legate named John, a native of Ravenna,³ to travel through Dalmatia and Croatia and instruct the Christians with salutary admonitions. Now no bishop had been appointed to the church of Salona since the time of its overthrow. Therefore the venerable John began to exhort the clergy and people to restore the archbishopric of the old city among themselves. This suggestion was most welcome and ac-

³ The story of John of Ravenna is one of the most important pieces of Thomas' argument regarding the primacy of the church of Split. He is not known from other sources. The issue was also heavily debated in the scholarship. See MMS, pp. 97–164.

ceptum. Tunc coadunato clero, ut moris erat, electio in persona predicti Iohannis concorditer ab omnibus celebrata est. Qui per dominum papam consecratione suscepta tamquam bonus pastor ad proprias oves accessit non animo cumulandi pecunias, cum ecclesia tunc esset pauperrima, sed caritatis studio de animarum salute lucrum spirituale querere satagebat. Ipsi concessum est a sede apostolica, ut totius dignitatis privilegium, quod Salona antiquitus habuit, optineret ecclesia Spalatensium.

Tunc cepit ecclesiam clerumque componere, instare doctrine, predicationi vacare curamque pastoralis officii multum sollicitate exercere. Etenim per Dalmatie et Sclavonie regiones circundo restaurabat ecclesias, ordinabat episcopos, parochias disponebat et paulatim rudes populos ad informationem catholicam attrahebat.¹

Tunc prenominate Severus domicilium suum, quod in Spalato sortitus fuerat, quando de insulis redierunt, donavit ecclesie cum turri angulari et palatio episcopium ibi fieri statuens ibique venerabilis presul Iohannes primitus habitare cepit. Videns ergo populum in divini cultus amore succrescere statim aggredi cepit opus laudabile et templum Iovis,² quod in ipso augustali edificio excelsioribus fuerat structuris erectum, ab ydolorum mundavit figmentis ianuas in eo serasque constituens. Tunc solempnitate dedicationis indicta magnus undique populus coadunatus est. Fecit ergo ex phano illo ecclesiam consecrans eam in magna devotione et tripudio omnium, qui convenerant, ad honorem Dei et gloriose Virginis Marie. Clerum autem ibi statuit, qui divini cultus obsequia diebus singulis exerceret.

¹ On the conversion of Croatia/Dalmatia, see Franjo Šanjek, "The Church and Christianity," in Ivan Supićić (ed.), *Croatia in the Early Middle Ages: A Cultural Survey* (London-Zagreb: Philip Wilson Publishers-AGM, 1999), pp. 219–21, 235–6.

² Jupiter's temple was, in fact, the building converted into the baptistery, while the building converted into the cathedral was Diocletian's mausoleum.

ceptable to them. Then an election was held by the assembled clergy, as was the custom, and their choice fell unanimously on the person of the aforementioned John. Afterwards, when he had been consecrated by the pope, like a good shepherd he came back to his own flock, and not with the thought of accumulating money, for the church was at that time very poor, but out of love and desire to seek spiritual riches from the salvation of souls. It was granted to him by the Apostolic See that the church of Split would have all the privileges and honors that Salona had formerly enjoyed.

Then he began to organize the church and clergy, to encourage learning, to devote time to preaching, and to exercise the cares of his pastoral office with the greatest attention. Thus, he went about Dalmatia and Slavonia, restoring churches, ordaining bishops and setting up parishes, and little by little he drew the ignorant people to knowledge of the Catholic faith.¹

At that time the aforementioned Severus gave to the church the house in Split that he had been allotted when they returned from the islands, along with the corner tower and the palace, proposing that it be made into the archbishop's palace. And the venerable John was the first archbishop to reside there. Seeing the people growing in their love of divine worship, he at once undertook a praiseworthy task: he cleansed the Temple of Jove,² a building that had been raised so as to tower above others within the imperial palace, of the deceit of its false idols, and fitted it with doors and locks. Then he announced a ceremony of dedication, and a great crowd of people gathered from every side. Thus he turned that famous temple into a church, consecrating it with great devotion to the honor of God and the glorious Virgin Mary, to the jubilation of all who had assembled. And in it he established clergy to perform the daily rites of divine service.

XII. DE TRANSLATIONE SANCTORUM DOMNII ET ANASTASII

Eodem tempore Iohannes reverendus antistes cepit tractare cum civibus, ut corpus beati Domnii pontificis, quod Salone remanserat, levaretur translatumque in ecclesia, que nuper dedicata fuerat, locaretur.¹ Et valde placuit omnibus. Explorata itaque temporum vice, quando possent hoc comode atemptare, abierunt Salonam ingredientiisque basilicam episcopii² confusa et dissipata omnia reppererunt. Repletus enim erat locus ille ruinosus tectis congestisque incendiorum cineres vepres iam et virgulta produxerant ita, ut quamvis adhuc aliqui superessent, qui locum sciebant, tamen quia tumba ipsius subterraneis fornicibus absconsa latuerat, non facile discerni poterat, unde corpus beati Domnii tolleretur. Effodientes autem terram locumque discooperientes arcam, que primo apparuit, levaverunt et metuentes, ne forte impedirentur a Sclavis, cum celeritate magna Spalatum detulerunt. Quam aperientes non corpus beati Domnii, sed corpus beati Anastasii martiris invenerunt. Protinus ergo die sequenti revertentes Salonam de eodem loco sarcophagum beati Domnii effoderunt et cum summa festinatione Spalatum transferentes devotione nimia amborum martirum pignora pretiosa locaverunt in prenominata Dei Genitricis ecclesia, ubi dante Domino usque hodie requiescunt.³

¹ The story of the transfer of the bodies of SS. Domnius and Anastasius from Salona to Split is also an important part of Thomas' argument, in spite of the fact that it contradicts the events described above in ch. 8.

12 THE TRANSLATION OF SAINT DOMNIUS AND SAINT ANASTASIUS

At the same time the reverend Archbishop John began to discuss with the citizens of the town the possibility that the body of the blessed Bishop Domnius, which had remained in Salona, be raised and translated to the church that had just been dedicated.¹ And everyone greatly approved. And so, having considered the best time when this might be attempted, they left for Salona. On entering the bishop's basilica² they discovered everything in disorder and ruins. The place was full of debris from the collapse of the roofs, and bushes and brambles flourished among the piles of ashes. Some persons who knew the place still survived, but because his tomb was buried and lay hidden in the underground vaults, it was not easy to determine where exactly the body of Saint Domnius might be found. But as they dug the earth and cleared the site, a chest first came to view. Fearing that they might be interrupted at any time by the Slavs, they immediately raised the chest and carried it away with great haste to Split. But when they opened the chest they found that it held not the body of Saint Domnius but the body of the holy martyr Anastasius. So the very next day they returned to Salona, and in the same spot dug up the coffin of Saint Domnius; bearing it with the greatest haste to Split, there with the greatest devotion they placed the precious relics of both martyrs in the aforementioned church of the Mother of God, where by the grace of the Lord they lie to this day.³

² SS. Domnius and Anastasius were not buried in the bishop's basilica in Salona, but in cemetery complexes in Manastirine and Marusinac respectively.

³ The bodies of SS. Domnius and Anastasius are still in Split's cathedral.

XIII. CATHALOGUS ARCHIEPISCOPORUM DE QUIBUS EXTAT MEMORIA

Igitur duces Sclavonie habere ceperunt in magna veneratione ecclesiam beati Domnii donantes ei predia et possessiones multas, decimas et oblationes corde ylari offerentes.¹

Fuerunt autem in ecclesia Spalatensi archiepiscopi multi, quibus ex privilegio Salonitane ecclesie omnes episcopi superioris et inferioris Dalmatie obediebant² utpote suffraganei ab antiquo. Ipsi autem archiepiscopi non Spalatenses sed Salonitani appellabantur.³ Postquam autem per predicationem predicti Iohannis ac aliorum presulum Salonitanorum duces Gothorum et Chroatorum ab Arriane hereseos fuerant contagione purgati, preter episcopos Dalmatie in Sclavonia⁴ fuerunt aliquae statute episcopales ecclesie: videlicet ab oriente fuit episcopus Delmitanus,⁵ unde Dalmatia dicta est, ab occidente fuit episcopus Sciscianus,⁶ ubi beatus Quirinus martir quondam extitit presul.⁷

Denique post Salone interitum in Spalato hos invenimus antiquiores fuisse antistites: Iustinus archiepiscopus extitit anno incarnationis octingentesimo quadragesimo, Marinus⁸ archiepiscopus fuit tempore Caroli regis⁹ et Branimiri ducis

¹ Thomas is apparently alluding to the privileges that the church of Split received from early medieval Croatian rulers, then (as now) existing in its archive, mostly in the form of documents written closer to Thomas' time, which were treated by Thomas as authentic, but which are in part forgeries, as has been established more recently.

² Dalmatia Superior: south of Dubrovnik as far as the River Bojana/Buenë. Dalmatia Inferior, north of Dubrovnik as far as Istria.

³ They are called such in the documents older than the synods of Split between 925 and 928 (CD 1: 16, 29, 31, 34–5), when Split became the metropolis of Dalmatia and Croatia.

⁴ I.e. Croatia.

⁵ See above, n. 3, p. 2.

13 A LIST OF THE ARCHBISHOPS OF WHOM MEMORY IS PRESERVED

Thereupon the leaders of Slavonia began to hold the church of Saint Domnius in great veneration, bestowing upon it many estates and possessions, and offering tithes and oblations with cheerful hearts.¹

The archbishops of the church of Split were many, and to them all bishops of both Upper and Lower Dalmatia were obedient,² according to the right of privilege of the church of Salona, inasmuch as they had been suffragans from ancient times. These archbishops, indeed, were not styled archbishops of Split but archbishops of Salona.³ Then, after the leaders of the Goths and the Croats had been cleansed of the infection of the Arian heresy through the preaching of the aforementioned John and other bishops of Salona, other episcopal churches, aside from those of the bishops of Dalmatia, were established in Slavonia:⁴ namely, in the east a bishop of Delmis⁵—the town from which Dalmatia takes its name—and in the west a bishop of Sisak,⁶ where Saint Quirinus the martyr had once been bishop.⁷

Finally, we find these to have been among the earliest archbishops in Split after the destruction of Salona: Justin was archbishop in the year of the Lord's Incarnation 840; Marinus⁸ was archbishop in the time of King Charles⁹ and Duke Branimir of

⁶The bishopric of Siscia (present-day Sisak) was previously a suffragan bishopric of Sirmium, and from the sixth century one of Salona.

⁷Martyred in Sabaria (Szombathely, Hungary) in 304 or 306. Feast day 4 June. See *Acta Sanctorum Iunii* 1 (1695), pp. 381–3. He is the patron saint of the bishopric of Krk, in the Middle Ages a suffragan bishopric of Split.

⁸Mentioned as already dead in 886/7 in a letter of Pope Stephen VI (896–7) to Marin's successor Bishop Theodosius (CD 1: 20–1).

⁹King Charles III the Fat (881–8).

Sclavonie,¹ Iohannes² archiepiscopus fuit anno Domini non-gentesimo quartodecimo tempore Tamislavi ducis.³ Martinus archiepiscopus fuit anno Domini nongentesimo septuagesimo tempore Theodosii imperatoris⁴ et Dirscislavi regis.⁵ Iste Martinus fuit Spalatinus natione, hic fecit ecclesie unum calicem magnum cum sua patena de auro purissimo. Ab isto Dirscislavo ceteri successores eius reges Dalmatie et Chroatie appellati sunt. Recipiebant enim regie dignitatis insignia ab imperatoribus Constantinopolitanis et dicebantur eorum eparchi sive patricii.⁶ Habebant namque ex successione sue originis patrum et proavorum dominium regni Dalmatie et Chroatie.

Istaque fuerunt regni eorum confinia: ab oriente Delmina, ubi fuit civitas Delmis, in qua est quedam ecclesia, quam beatus Germanus⁷ Capuanus episcopus consecravit, sicut scriptum reperitur in ea, ab occidente Carinthia versus mare usque ad oppidum Stridonis, quod nunc est confinium Dalmatie et Ystrie, ab aquilone vero a ripa Danubii usque ad mare Dalmaticum cum tota Maronia et Chulmie ducatu.⁸

¹ Croatian Duke Branimir (879–92).

² The first historically attested archbishop of Split, mentioned in the acts of the synods of Split and letters of Popes John X (898–900) and Leo VI (925–8).

³ Croatian ruler (ca. 910–28). Since the nineteenth century he has been considered to be the first ruler of Croatia who took the title of king, but this issue is heavily debated.

⁴ The last Byzantine Emperor of that name was Theodosius III (715–7). In 970 the Byzantine Emperor was John I Tzimisces (969–76).

⁵ Croatian ruler Stephen Držislav (969–97).

⁶ On the relationship between Byzantium and Croatian rulers of the period, see John V. A. Fine, *The Early Medieval Balkans. A Critical Survey from the Sixth to the Late Twelfth Century* (Ann Arbor, MI: The University of Michigan Press, 1983), pp. 274–5, and Ivo Goldstein, “Between Byzantium, the Adriatic and Central Europe,” in Supićić (ed.), *Croatia*, pp. 169–79.

Slavonia;¹ John² was archbishop in the year of Our Lord 914, in the time of Duke Tomislav;³ Martin was archbishop in the year of Our Lord 970, in the time of Emperor Theodosius⁴ and King Držislav.⁵ This Martin was a native of Split. He had a large chalice made for the church and a paten to go with it, of purest gold. All the successors of Držislav were called kings of Dalmatia and Croatia. They received the insignia of kingship from the emperors in Constantinople and were styled their “eparchs” or “patricians.”⁶ They inherited the lordship of the kingdom of Dalmatia and Croatia by succession from their fathers and forefathers.

The boundaries of that kingdom were as follows. To the east: Delmina. Here the city of Delmis stood, and in it there is a church consecrated by Saint Germanus,⁷ bishop of Capua, as we read in an inscription in the church. To the west: Carinthia, towards the sea up to the town of Stridon, which now marks the boundary of Dalmatia and Istria. To the north, moreover: from the banks of the Danube down to the Dalmatian sea, including all of Maronia and the Duchy of Hum.⁸

⁷ St. Germanus of Capua (516–41) was sent as a legate of Pope Hormisdas (514–523) to Constantinople in 519 in order to heal the Acacian schism. He is mentioned in the *Chronicle of the Priest of Duklja* (cap. 1; *Ljetopis*, p. 40), but Thomas might have known something about him from the *Dialogues* of Pope Gregory I the Great (2.35; 4.40). The inscription mentioned here is not extant.

⁸ Maronia: the insular part of the archdiocese of Split, later to be separated from it and made into the bishopric of Hvar (the islands of Brač, Hvar and Vis); Hum: the region in the hinterland in the wider area of the River Neretva (mod. Western and Middle Herzegovina).

XIV. DE ADVENTU HUNGARORUM¹

His fere temporibus pars aliqua gentis Massagetum² egressa de regione sua, que Mageria nuncupatur, venit in multitudine gravi obstantia queque devastans, totam Pannoniam ex utraque parte Danubii occupavit. Interfectis namque incolis regionis illius aliisque in servitutem redactis posuerunt se in planitie illa, quia propter raritatem hominum abilis erat animalibus alendis, ex quibus maxime multitudo ipsa victum habebat. Hec regio dicebatur fuisse antiquitus pascua Romanorum.³ Ceperunt ergo circumpositas regiones bellis assiduis infestare, ecclesias destruere, christianos affligere. Erant enim pagani crudelissimi, prius vocabantur Hunni,⁴ postea sunt Hungari nuncupati. Ante ipsa tempora dux Attila, ferocissimus persecutor christianorum, de predicta regione dicitur fuisse egressus.⁵

Petrus archiepiscopus, natione Spalatensis, fuit anno Domini nongentesimo nonagesimo, tempore Tripimiri et Mucimiri, filii eius, regum.⁶ Paulus archiepiscopus, etiam natione Spalatensis, fuit anno Domini millesimo quintodecimo, tempore Basilii et Constantini imperatorum Constantinopolitanorum⁷ et Cresimiri, eorum patricii et regis Chroatorum.⁸ Pater vero eiusdem

¹ The first part of this chapter is a digression on the settlement of the Hungarians in Pannonia (traditionally dated to 896). For more, see Pál Engel, *The Realm of Saint Stephen. A History of Medieval Hungary*, transl. by Tamás Pálosfalvi, ed. by Andrew Ayton (London and New York: Tauris, 2000) (henceforth: *Realm*), pp. 8–24.

² The Massagetes are mentioned by Isidore (*Etym.* IX.2.63, XIV.4.6) but no other known author associates them with the Magyars.

³ The term *pascua Romanorum* is used in the *Gesta Hungarorum* of the so-called Anonymus (cap. 9); see “P. magistri, qui Anonymus dicitur, *Gesta Hungarorum*,” ed. by Emil Jakubovich and Dezső Pais, in *SRA* 1, p. 46. Whether Thomas knew Anonymus’ text or whether they used some common source is not clear, but the former seems probable.

⁴ For identification of the Huns and Hungarians in medieval writers, see Simon of Kéza, *The Deeds of the Hungarians*, ed. by László Veszprémy and Frank Schaer (Budapest: CEU Press, 1999), pp. 26–7, n. 1.

14 THE COMING OF THE HUNGARIANS¹

At about this time a group of the Massagetes² left their own region, which is called Mageria, and advanced in a great multitude, laying waste all that they encountered. They occupied all of Pannonia on both sides of the Danube. After killing the inhabitants of the region and reducing others to servitude, they settled down on that plain, which, because it was sparsely populated, was suited for raising livestock, from which most especially that multitude of people derived their livelihood. Indeed, it is said that this region in ancient times was the pasturing land of the Romans.³ Then the Massagetes began to attack the areas about in constant wars, destroying churches and afflicting the Christians; for they were most cruel pagans. Earlier they were called Huns,⁴ and later they were named Hungarians. Before these times the leader Attila, a most ferocious persecutor of Christians, is said to have set out from the aforementioned region.⁵

Peter, a native of Split, was archbishop in the year 990, in the time of King Trpimir and his son King Muncimir.⁶ Paul was archbishop in the year 1015, in the time of Emperors Basil and Constantine⁷ and of Krešimir, the emperors' patrician and king of the Croats.⁸ The name of the father of this archbishop was

⁵ On Attila in European and Hungarian medieval literature, see Martyn Rady, "Recollecting Attila: Some Medieval Hungarian Images and their Antecedents," *Central Europe* 1 (2003) 1: 5–17.

⁶ Trpimir (ca. 846–64) and his son Muncimir (ca. 892–910) are usually styled as dukes and not as kings, both in epigraphic and diplomatic evidence (CD 1: 3–8, 22–5). Thomas gave them the title of kings on the basis of a forged charter attributed to King Zvonimir (1075/6–89) in 1076 (CD 1: 141–2). Archbishop Peter is mentioned in all three of these charters. Why Thomas dated Trpimir and Muncimir to 990 is not clear.

⁷ Emperor Basil II the Bulgar-Slayer (976–1025), and Constantine VIII, his co-ruler and later (1025–8) sole emperor.

⁸ Krešimir III (ca. 1000–35).

archiepiscopi vocabatur Prestantius, qui eodem tempore primarius erat, hoc est rector, civitatis Spalatine.¹

His temporibus Geyza, quartus dux Ungarorum, christianus effectus, cepit gentem suam ad ritum christiane professionis paulatim atrahere dans libertatem christianis edificandi ecclesias et nomen Christi publice predicandi.²

Mortuo denique Paulo archiepiscopo, substitutus est Dabralis, Spalatensis natione anno domini millesimo tricesimo, temporibus principum predictorum.³

XV. DE EXEMPTIONE EPISCOPORUM SUPERIORIS DALMATIE

Factum est autem, ut illis diebus convocarentur omnes suffraganei Dalmatie ad provincialem synodum,⁴ que celebranda erat in ecclesia Spalatensi. Episcopis autem superioris Dalmatie visum est, quod comodius suum possent iter peragere, si omnes uno navigio ducerentur. Tunc preparata navi ex conducto accesserunt ad portum et imponentes, que erant navigantibus necessaria, omnes fere episcopi eandem navem conscenderunt, videlicet Catariensis, Antibarensis, Doclinensis⁵ et Suacensis.⁶

¹ Prestantius is mentioned in two documents from the cartulary of the Benedictine monastery of St. Stephen Under the Pine Trees. The cartulary was made on the order of Archbishop Roger, as a consequence of a canonical visitation performed by Thomas himself in September 1251 (Farlati 3: 276), but is now extant only in a seventeenth-century copy in Italian translation. In the first of these documents, the will of his son Archbishop Paul of 1020 (CD 1: 58–9), Prestantius is mentioned as *primate*, while in another, his own donation of the church of St. Mary of Poljud to Archbishop Paul, he is styled as *priore* (CD 1: 59–60).

² Géza (972–97) is mentioned as the fourth grand duke of the Hungarians in the *Legenda maior S. Stephani regis* (cap. 2), which was probably Thomas' source; see "Legenda sancti Stephani regis Maior et Minor, atque legenda ab Hartvico episcopo conscripta," ed. by Emma Bartoniek, in *SRA* 2, p. 378. Géza was baptized around 996.

Prestantius, and at that same period he was *primarius*, that is, governor, of the city of Split.¹

At that time Géza, the fourth duke of the Hungarians, became a Christian and began to draw his people gradually to the practices of the Christian religion, giving Christians the right to build churches and preach publicly the name of Christ.²

After the death of Archbishop Paul, Dabralis became the next archbishop in the year 1030, in the time of the aforementioned princes.³

15 THE EXEMPTION OF THE BISHOPS OF UPPER DALMATIA

It happened in those days that all the suffragans of Dalmatia were called to a provincial synod,⁴ which was to be held in the church of Split. The bishops of Upper Dalmatia decided that they could make their journey more conveniently if they all traveled in one ship. So a ship was readied as agreed and they went to the port. And putting on board what was needful for their journey, nearly all the bishops boarded the one ship—that is, the bishops of Kotor, Bar, Ulcinj⁵ and Svač.⁶ But as they were

³ Archbishop Paul died some time after 1020 (CD 1: 60–1). In 1030 the Croatian ruler was still Krešimir III, but the Byzantine Emperor was Romanus III Argyrus (1028–34). Dabralis is not mentioned in any extant document, and Thomas is the only source for him.

⁴ Thomas did not date these events, but since the bishoprics of Kotor, Bar and Ulcinj are mentioned in the bull of Pope Benedict VIII of 1022 as suffragan bishoprics of Dubrovnik (CD 1: 61), it must have happened around 1020.

⁵ On the bishopric of Kotor, see Farlati 6: 420–518; on Ulcinj, see Farlati 7: 248–61; on the bishopric and later archbishopric of Bar, see Farlati 7: 8–190.

⁶ The bishopric of Svač as a suffragan bishopric of Bar is mentioned in a bull (*Acta Albaniae* 1: 21) of the anti-pope Clement III (1080–1100). It was later an object of contention between the archbishoprics of Dubrovnik and Bar (CD 2: 113). On the bishopric of Svač in general, see Farlati 7: 291–301.

Cum autem circa insulas ventis impellerentur non multum adversis, ecce subito tempestatis turbo mediis fluctibus toto se fragore immersit statimque attoniti naute confusis clamoribus ad armamenta velorum manus accurrunt apponere anitentes vela deponere, ancoras proicere, ne navis in asperrima loca, que iam erant proxima, incideret. Sed antequam possent quicquam consulte agere, confestim navis arrepta in siccum tota illysa est intumescensque procellis minutatim quassata est et confRACTA. Sicque divino iudicio miserabiles episcopi et omnes, qui cum eis erant, perierunt.

Tunc cives urbium predictarum missa relatione ad summum pontificem nuntiaverunt de naufragio episcoporum suorum, suppliciter postulantes eximi a subiectione ecclesie Spalatensi satis probabilem pretendentes occassionem, quia periculosum illis erat tam remotam ecclesiam visitare. Quam ob rem Romanus pontifex annuit petitioni eorum omnesque episcopos a Ragusio superius absolvit a vinculo, quo tenebantur antike metropoli Salonitane.¹ Statuitque novam metropolim in civitate Antibarensi² et omnes episcopatus predictos ei subiecit.

Inferior vero Dalmatia habuit episcopatus suos more antiquo sue metropoli Salonitane ecclesie subditos, videlicet ab Apsarensi episcopatu usque ad Traguriensem. Vegliensis, Apsarensis et Arbensis episcopatus³ habuerunt parochias⁴ suas in insulis

¹ The exemption of the bishops of Upper Dalmatia had, in accordance with canon law, to have political reasons as its background. It was apparently caused by the establishment of the separate Byzantine province of Upper Dalmatia with its center in Dubrovnik, after Bulgarian Tsar Samuel conquered Durrës and its *theme* in 989. For more, see Miho Barada, "Dalmatia Superior," *Rad JAZU* 270 (1949): 93–113. On the general situation of that time, see Paul Stephenson, *Byzantium's Balkan Frontier: a Political Study of the Northern Balkans, 900–1204* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), pp. 58–79 and 117–23.

² The metropoly was established in Dubrovnik and not in Bar. The latter was elevated to the rank of archbishopric in 1089, and was from that time in conflict about suffragans with Dubrovnik, as was the case still in Thomas' time.

driven by mostly favorable winds around the islands, suddenly a whirlwind of a storm fell with a mighty noise upon them in the open sea. Immediately the bewildered sailors with confused cries rushed to set their hands to the tackle, struggling to take down the sails and to weigh the anchors, to save the ship from crashing against the rocky shores that were already close at hand. But before they could do anything to help, the ship was immediately picked up and hurled completely against dry land; as the storm increased, little by little the ship was broken up and smashed to pieces. And so, by divine judgement, the unfortunate bishops and all who were with them perished.

Then the inhabitants of the aforementioned cities sent a report to the supreme pontiff with news of the shipwreck of their bishops, and they humbly requested that they be released from subjection to the church of Split, on the not unreasonable grounds that it was dangerous for them to visit so distant a church. In the circumstances the Roman pontiff granted their petition. All bishops from Dubrovnik and beyond were freed from the tie by which they had been bound to the ancient metropolitan see of Salona.¹ And instead, the pope established a new metropolitan see in the city of Bar,² and made all the aforesaid bishoprics subject to it.

The bishoprics of Lower Dalmatia, however, following ancient custom, remained subject to the metropolitan church of Salona; in other words, all those from Osor up to Trogir. To the bishoprics of Krk, Osor, and Rab³ there belonged the parishes⁴

³ The bishoprics of Krk, Osor and Rab are mentioned in the acts of the synod of Split of 928, as dating to Antiquity (CD 1: 37). On Krk, see Farlati 5: 294–316; on Osor, see Farlati 5: 182–226; on Rab, see Farlati 5: 226–94.

⁴ The term *parochia* does not correspond to the modern meaning of parish, but rather to larger ecclesiastical districts, into which dioceses were divided. In Dalmatia and Croatia they were administered by a dignitary who was styled as an archpriest (*archipresbyter*), while in Slavonia and Hungary that dignitary was styled as an archdeacon (*archidiaconus*). Both kinds of dignitaries were usually also canons of their respective bishoprics.

suis, sed Vegliensis optinebat maiorem partem parochiarum, quas nunc habet Signiensis ecclesia,¹ que non erat tunc episcopalis sedes. Omnes enim civitates predictae ad regnum Chroaie pertinebant. Iaderensis episcopatus² non magnam habuit parochiam propter vicinitatem Nonesis³ et Belgradensis episcopatum. Cum autem Belgradensis civitas destructa fuisset a Venetis, mutavit sedem suam in Scardonam.⁴ Traguriensis episcopatus,⁵ quia sue metropoli vicinior erat, maiorem diocesim sortitus est, videlicet castrum Sibinicense cum tota sua iupa,⁶ protendebatur enim fere usque ad fluvium Cetinensem. Fuit etiam episcopalis sedes apud Mucarum⁷ eratque sua parochia a confinio Craine⁸ usque Stagnum. In Stagno nichilominus fuit episcopatus⁹ suaque parochia erat in comitatu Chilmie. Voluerunt etiam Chroatorum reges quasi specialem habere pontificem petieruntque ab archiepiscopo Spalatensi et fecerunt episcopum, qui Chrovatensis appellabatur posueruntque sedem eius in campo in ecclesia sancte Marie iuxta castrum Tiniense.¹⁰ Hic multas optinuit

¹ The bishopric of Senj was established around 1160, and its bishop, Mireius, is mentioned in a letter of Pope Alexander III (1159–81) from 1168–70 (CD 2: 120–2). On the bishopric of Senj, see Farlati 4: 114–63.

² The bishopric of Zadar dates to Antiquity. On the bishopric of Zadar in general, see Farlati 5: 1–169.

³ The bishopric of Nin was established in the ninth century as a bishopric for the territory under the rule of Croatian dukes. It was abolished at the synod of Split of 928 and reestablished in the eleventh century; see Farlati 4: 204–38.

⁴ The bishopric of Biograd existed in the second half of the eleventh century. After Biograd was destroyed by the Venetians in 1125, its seat was transferred to Skradin; see Farlati 4: 1–36.

⁵ The bishopric of Trogir was established in the eleventh century; see Farlati 4: 303–448.

⁶ Since the late twelfth century Šibenik had been trying to obtain its own bishopric, a project that was successfully accomplished in 1298. As the archdeacon of Split, Thomas was personally involved in the matter (CD 4: 101–2, 551; CD 5: 162).

⁷ The episcopal see *apud Mucarum* was situated at Makar near present-day Makarska. In Thomas' time there was no bishopric there, but this area was directly included in the diocese of Split. However, Thomas mentions it, because a certain Bishop Stephen was mentioned as *episcopus muncorensis (!)* in the

on their respective islands, except that the bishopric of Krk also held the greater part of the parishes that the church of Senj has now,¹ before Senj became an episcopal see. All the aforementioned cities belonged to the kingdom of Croatia. The bishopric of Zadar² had only a small parish because of the proximity of the bishoprics of Nin³ and Biograd. When, however, the city of Biograd was destroyed by the Venetians, its see was moved to Skradin.⁴ The bishopric of Trogir,⁵ which is closer to its metropolitan see, was allotted a greater diocese, namely the castle of Šibenik with all its neighboring districts,⁶ extending almost up to the River Cetina. There was also an episcopal see at Makar,⁷ and its parish ran from the border of Krajina⁸ up to Ston. At the same time, there was a bishopric in Ston;⁹ its parish lay within the county of Hum. Moreover, the kings of the Croats wanted to have, as it were, a special bishop, for which they petitioned the archbishop of Split. They created a bishop who was known as the bishop of Croatia, and they placed his see in the countryside, in the church of Saint Mary near the castle of Knin.¹⁰ He

acts of the synod of Salona of 533; see Nada Klaić (ed.), *Historia Salonitana maior* (Belgrade: SANU, 1967), pp. 83, 85. The bishopric of Makarska was in fact reestablished around 1320. On the bishopric, see Farlati 4: 184–203.

⁸ The area between the lower stream of the Cetina and the Neretva Rivers.

⁹ The bishopric of Ston is mentioned in the aforementioned acts of the synod of Split of 928 together with those of Dubrovnik and Kotor. On the bishopric of Ston, see Farlati 6: 318–62.

¹⁰ The so-called bishop of Croatia was the bishop for the remaining part of the kingdom of Croatia. These bishops are mentioned in the documents of the eleventh century (CD 1: 91, 97–8, 100, 102, 106, 114, 133, 159, 161, 163, 190, 192), as are their oaths to the archbishop of Split, whose suffragans they were, inscribed into the so-called *Evangeliarium Spalatense*. From 1185 they were styled the bishops of Knin. On the bishop of Croatia, see Miho Barada, “Episcopus Chroatensis,” *Croatia sacra* 1 (1931): 161–215; on the bishopric of Knin in general, see Farlati 4: 280–302. On the placement of the cathedral, see Nikola Jakšić, “O katedralama hrvatske i kninske biskupije” [Regarding the cathedrals of the bishoprics of Croatia and Knin], *Radovi Filozofskog fakulteta u Zadru* 27 (1987–1988): 115–33; Mate Jarak, “Katedrala hrvatskog biskupa. *Iuxta castrum Tiniense*” [The cathedral of the bishop of Croatia. *Iuxta castrum Tiniense*], *Radovi Filozofskog fakulteta u Zadru* 38 (1999): 129–42.

parochias habuitque predia et possessiones per totum pene regnum Chroatie, quia regalis erat episcopus et regis curiam sequebatur eratque unus ex principibus aule et sua iurisdictio usque ad Dravum fluvium extendebatur. Ecclesia nempe metropolis has sibi voluit parochias retinere: comitatum Cetine, Cleune, Clisse, Massarum, Almisium et Corbaviam¹ et ultra Alpes ferreas² usque ad confinia Zagrabie totamque Maroniam.

Nunc autem ad Dabrallem episcopum redeamus. Hic enim cum esset potens et nobilis nec foret aliquis ausus ipsius acta reprehendere, quicquid sibi placebat hoc licere putabat. Habebat namque mulierem et filios quasi laycus, quos secum in archiepiscopali palatio tenebat, totum vero episcopium nonnisi vagitibus parvulorum et ancillarum tumultibus erat plenum. Negotiis quippe secularibus implicatus, modicum spiritualia procurabat. Cum autem tam enormis vita pontificis summo fuisset pontifici nuntiata, statim misit quendam legatum, Iohannem nomine, virum valde providum et discretum.³ Qui ad partes illas accedens congregata synodo inquisitionem cepit facere in capite et in membris. Et cum crimen Dabralis archiepiscopi esset notorium, cepit se frivolis allegationibus excusare. Ducebat enim predicatam mulierem sibi fore legitimam, quam ex consuetudine orientalis ecclesie secum poterat licite retinere.⁴ Sed legatus excusationes Dabralis nullius fore momenti considerans auctoritate apostolica sententialiter removit eum in perpetuum ab administratione ecclesie Spalatensis.

¹ The bishopric of Krbava would be established in 1185; see below, ch. 22.

² *Alpes Ferree*, also known as Gvozd, present-day Kapela Mountains, separating the coastal regions of Croatia from the continental ones (Slavonia).

³ Legate John was probably Cardinal-Bishop John Conti of Porto, created cardinal by Pope Leo IX (1049–54) in 1049, who died between 1059 and 1066. The acts of this particular synod are not known, but it was probably held between 1045 and 1050. For more, see MMS, pp. 122–4.

held many parishes and had estates and possessions throughout nearly the whole kingdom of Croatia, because he was the royal bishop and attended the king's court. He was one of the leading men at the court, and his jurisdiction extended up to the River Drava. The metropolitan church, of course, wished to retain these parishes for itself: the counties of Cetina, Livno and Klis, Mosor, Omiš and Krbava,¹ and beyond the Iron Alps² up to the borders of Zagreb, and all of Maronia.

But now let us return to Bishop Dabralis. He was a powerful and highborn man, and no one would have dared to criticize his actions; so whatever pleased him he thought permissible. Thus he had a wife and children, as if he were a layman, whom he kept with him in the archiepiscopal palace. Indeed, the whole palace was filled with the wailing of young children and the commotion of maidservants. Caught up in all sorts of secular affairs, he attended little to spiritual matters. Now when the pope learnt of the highly irregular life of the bishop, he sent forthwith a certain legate named John, a man of great shrewdness and prudence.³ Arriving in those parts, the legate convened a synod and began an inquiry in its head and its members. Although his excesses were a matter of notoriety, Archbishop Dabralis began to justify himself by specious excuses. He said, for example, that the aforementioned woman was his lawfully, and that he was permitted to keep her according to the practice of the Eastern church.⁴ But the legate regarded the pleas of Dabralis as having no weight, and passing sentence with papal authority he removed him in perpetuity from administration of the church of Split.

⁴ As Thomas says, this was a false excuse, because the Orthodox bishops are chosen from among the regular clergy, which has the obligation of celibacy.

His temporibus Stephanus Geyze filius per Romanum pontificem coronam regni adeptus, primus rex Hungarorum effectus est,¹ vir strenuus et ad ampliandum christiane fidei cultum valde intentus, totum regnum suum ita nobiliter episcopatibus, monasteriis et ecclesiis ordinavit tamque copiose dotavit, ut in toto pene mundo vix status ecclesie vigere melius et dignius videatur.

Denique post Dabralem fuit quidam Iohannes archiepiscopus Spalatensis de ipsa civitate oriundus. Ipse edificavit ecclesiam sancti Felicis² super rivum. Et cum pre senectute iam factus esset inutilis, cessit ab onere pastoralis et in eadem ecclesia non longo tempore degens ibidem mortis debitum solvit.³

XVI. DE PROMOTIONE LAURENTII ARCHIEPISCOPI

Ea tempestate quidam apostolice sedis legatus ad ecclesiam Spalatensem accedens provincialem synodum congregavit.⁴ Ubi cum omnes Spalatensis metropolis episcopi convenissent, antequam dimitteretur concilium, tractatum est de electione metropolitani, quia Spalatensis ecclesia tunc vacabat. Et factum est divina gratia inspirante, ut omnium mentes et vota in personam venerabilis viri Laurentii Apsarensis episcopi, qui cum

¹ St. Stephen (997–1038; crowned ca. 1000) and Pope Sylvester II (999–1003). For more, see Engel, *Realm*, pp. 25–9.

² The church of St. Felix was on the spot of the present-day Franciscan convent on the seashore (*Riva*) of Split. See Tomislav Marasović, *Split u starohrvatsko doba* [Split in the early Middle Ages] (Split: Muzej hrvatskih arheoloških spomenika, 1996), pp. 24–5.

At that time, Stephen son of Géza, having received a royal crown from the pope, became the first king of the Hungarians.¹ He was an energetic man, greatly intent on encouraging the practice of the Christian faith, and he established bishoprics, monasteries and churches on such a grand scale throughout his kingdom, and he endowed them so generously, that scarcely anywhere in the world did the church appear to flourish in better state or in more esteem.

The archbishop of Split after Dabralis was a certain John, a native of the city. It was he who built the church of Saint Felix² on the bank of a stream. When he had become incapacitated by old age, he laid aside the burden of his pastoral duties, and after living a short time in the same church he passed away.³

16 THE ELEVATION OF ARCHBISHOP LAWRENCE

At that time a legate from the Apostolic See came to the church of Split and called a provincial synod.⁴ All the bishops subject to the see of Split came together, and before the council was dismissed, the election of a metropolitan was held, since the church of Split was then without incumbent. And it happened that, with the inspiration of divine grace, the wishes and choice of all agreed on the person of the venerable Lawrence, bishop of Osor, who had come to the synod with the other suffra-

³ Mentioned as the archbishop in 1059 (CD 1: 95). Thomas' source for this paragraph was most probably the famous inscription on the sarcophagus of a certain Archbishop John. See Branimir Gabričević, "Sarkofag nadbiskupa Ivana pronađen u podrumima Dioklecijanove palače" [The sarcophagus of Archbishop John, found in the cellars of Diocletian's palace], *Vjesnik za arheologiju i historiju dalmatinsku* 62 (1960): 87–103.

⁴ The synod was held at the end of 1059 or at the beginning of 1060, and was presided over by Legate Maynard (see below, n. 151). See CD 1: 95–6.

ceteris suffraganeis ad synodum venerat, concordarent, ipsum in patrem et archiepiscopum unanimiter proclamantes. Missa ergo relatione ad Romanam curiam postulationem de ipso factam domino pape presentaverunt. Et quia testimonium habebat bonum ab omnibus, facile admissa est petitio eorum. Deditque ei summus pontifex licentiam transeundi mittens ei pallium dignitatis cum confirmatione privilegiorum metropolitice auctoritatis.

Fuit autem Laurentius iste Dalmatinus origine, statura quidem pusillus, sed sapientia magnus. Cepit ergo sua vigilantia industria ecclesiam in temporalibus et spiritualibus sublevare, per totam provinciam predicando discurrere et sicut bonus pastor super gregis sui custodia tota sollicitudine insistere. Et quia talis erat vir, in magna reverentia habebatur a regibus et principibus Sclavonie tribuebantque ecclesie sancti Domnii villas et predia multa facientes confirmationes et privilegia super novis collationibus et antiquis.¹ Ipse autem venerabilis Laurentius non sibi aut carnalibus erat proximis intentus acquirere, sed omnia ad proprietatem ecclesie ascribebat. Tantum enim studiosus extitit ad ampliandum ac decorandum ecclesie thesaurum, ut quandam proprium servum in Anthiochiam ad discendum fabrilis opera auri et argenti dirigeret. Qui cum iam bene instructus redisset, fecit venerandus pontifex excudi ab ipso candelabra magna de argento et alia candelabra manualia. Fecit etiam urceum magnum et alium parvum et ciminile manicatum, calicem et capsam, uncum pastorem et crucem et alia quedam, que omnia perfecit opere sculptorio artis ingenio Anthiocene.²

His temporibus Adam quidam Parisiensis, optime in artibus elimatus, pergendo Athenas ad Graecorum studia devenit Spalatum. Et cum fuisset a Laurentio antistite honorifice susceptus,

¹ Thomas' sources for the *gesta* of Lawrence were several privileges of Croatian rulers, especially those granted by King Zvonimir to Archbishop Lawrence and the church of Split (CD 1: 141, 160–1, 180–1).

gans, and they unanimously proclaimed him their father and archbishop. So they sent their report to the Roman curia and presented their request about him to the pope. And since he was well spoken of by all, their petition was readily granted; the pope granted him permission to cross to Split, sending him the *pallium* of office, together with confirmation of the privileges of the office of metropolitan.

Lawrence was Dalmatian by origin, a man small in stature but great in wisdom. With tireless industry he began to promote the church in matters temporal and spiritual, journeying and preaching throughout the province, and like the good shepherd devoting all his attention to care for the wellbeing of his flock. And because he was such a worthy man, he was held in great respect by the kings and princes of Slavonia, and they granted the church of Saint Domnius many towns and estates, granting confirmations and privileges over new and old gifts.¹ The venerable Lawrence was not concerned to acquire possessions for himself or his nearest kin, but turned over everything to the possession of the church. Indeed, so eager was he to increase and enrich the treasures of the church that he even sent one of his personal servants to Antioch to learn the art of crafting works of gold and silver. When the man had been fully instructed and returned home, the worthy archbishop had him fashion great silver candelabra and other smaller hand-held candleholders. This man also made a large pitcher and another small one, and a hand-basin with handles, a chalice and casket, a crosier and a cross, and other things, all of which he made and sculpted in the Antiochian style.²

In those days, a certain Adam of Paris, a man highly proficient in the arts, came to Split on his way to Athens for Greek studies. He was received with honor by Bishop Lawrence, who asked him if he would make a more elegant and polished ver-

² None of these can be identified among the existing objects of the treasury of Split's cathedral.

rogatus est ab eodem, ut passionibus beatorum martirum Domnii et Anastasii, quae inculto fuerant antiquitus sermone conscriptae, luculenta faceret compositione nitere. Quod ille gratanti corde consentit sumptoque temere a veteribus ystoriis legendas utriusque martiris lepido satis dictamine innovavit. Ymnos etiam composuit et quicquid de beato Domnio musicae canitur metrico sermone conscripsit.¹

Per idem tempus vacante ecclesia Traguriensi electus est quidam Iohannes, natione Ytalicus, et presentatus Laurentio episcopo munus ab eo consecrationis accepit. Hic praeter ceteris episcopis apud Laurentium maioris dilectionis et familiaritatis prerogativa gaudebat, quia erat vir litteratus et bonus. Pro amore siquidem celestis patriae cuncta carnis blandimenta contempnens aspernam vitam ducebat et, sicut asserunt, ad tantam virtutum gratiam excrevit, ut quedam in eo sanctitatis insignia eniterent. Unde et in vita et post mortem in magna veneratione habitus est a civibus suis.²

Temporibus domni Laurentii archiepiscopi quedam execrandi scismatis fuit suborta contentio in Dalmatie et Chroatie regno.

Fuerat siquidem tempore domini Alexandri pape³ et Iohannis decessoris Laurentii supradicti a domino Maynardo quondam Pomposiano abbate, postea episcopo cardinali,⁴ quedam

¹ Adam of Paris is not known from other sources. This apparently happened in the 1080s. The texts to which Thomas is here referring might be identified with those published in Farlati 1: 418–9, 471–3 and 721–2; see MMS, pp. 140–1.

² John was the first bishop of Trogir now known by name. He was consecrated by Archbishop Lawrence around 1064 and was later instrumental in the establishment of King Coloman's rule (1095–1116) over Dalmatian cities. He was after his death venerated as a saint in Trogir. His existing *vita* is an important source for Coloman's policies in the region. In its present shape this *vita* is compiled from the older versions in 1203 by Treguanus; see above, n. 7, p. 7.

sion of the passions of the blessed martyrs Domnius and Anastasius, which had been written in the past in a very unlettered style. This he gladly consented to do, and taking the material that he found in the old versions, he rewrote the lives of both martyrs in a most pleasing style. He also composed hymns, and all that is sung to music about the blessed Domnius he put into verse.¹

At that same time a certain John, an Italian, was elected to the vacant see of Trogir. He was presented to Archbishop Lawrence and received from him the gift of consecration. He above all the other bishops was privileged to enjoy the special affection and intimacy of Lawrence, for he was an educated and a good man, who for love of the Kingdom of Heaven scorned all the enticements of the flesh and led a life of great austerity. Indeed, as they assert, such grace and virtues did he attain that certain marks of sanctity shone in him. Thus both in his lifetime and after his death he was greatly venerated by his fellow citizens.²

In the time of Archbishop Lawrence there was a controversy in the kingdom of Dalmatia and Croatia arising from accursed schism.

For in the time of Pope Alexander³ and of John, Lawrence's predecessor, a formal synod had been convened of all the prelates of Dalmatia and Croatia by Maynard, formerly abbot of Pomposa and afterwards cardinal bishop,⁴ at which many arti-

³ Pope Alexander II (1061–73).

⁴ Maynard was from Campania. Prior to becoming cardinal, he was a Benedictine of Monte Cassino and the abbot of the abbey of Pomposa, situated in the delta of the River Po near Ferrara. He was created cardinal by Pope Leo IX around 1049.

synodus omnium prelatorum Dalmatie et Chroatie multum solempniter celebrata, in qua multa fuerunt conscripta capitula. Inter que siquidem hoc firmatum est et statutum, ut nulus de cetero in lingua Sclavonica presumeret divina misteria celebrare, nisi tantum in Latina et Greca, nec aliquis eiusdem lingue promoveretur ad sacros.¹ Dicebant enim, Goticas litteras a quodam Methodio heretico fuisse repertas, qui multa contra catholice fidei normam in eadem Sclavonica lingua mentiendo conscripsit.² Quam ob rem divino iudicio repentina dicitur morte fuisse dampnatus.

Denique cum hoc statutum synodali fuisset sententia promulgatum et apostolica auctoritate firmatum, omnes sacerdotes Sclavorum magno sunt merore confecti. Omnes quippe eorum ecclesie clause fuerunt, ipsi a consuetis officiis siluerunt.

Factum est autem, ut quidam sacerdos advena, Ulfus nomine, ad Chroatie partes accederet speciem pietatis vultu preferens, sed venenum sue fallacie corde premens. Abiit ergo susurrando per populum simulans se a summo pontifice destinatum³ et, quasi eorum infirmitati compatiens, consilium se eis dare utile promittebat dicens: «Scitote, quod dominus meus pontifex summus multum condoluit audiendo, quia ecclesie vobis clause sunt vestrisque sacerdotibus divina officia interdicta. Nunc ergo ad dominum meum legationem dirigite scientes, quod quicquid volueritis, poteritis optinere.»

Congregatis siquidem senioribus ac celebrato consilio eundem Ulfum presbiterum cum suis munusculis Romam mittunt. Mox

¹ This synod was held at the end of 1061 or at the beginning of 1062. Thomas here rephrases its acts to refer to the prohibition of Slavonic liturgy (CD 1: 96).

² Thomas calls the Glagolitic alphabet Gothic, implying in that manner its connection with Arianism (see above, ch. 7). On the conflicts about Slavonic liturgy in Croatia and Dalmatia, see Fine, *The Early Medieval Balkans*, pp.

cles were drawn up. Among these it was decreed and established that no one in future should presume to celebrate the divine mysteries in the Slavic tongue, but only in Latin and Greek, and that neither should anyone of that language be elevated to holy orders.¹ For they said that a certain heretic called Methodius had devised a Gothic alphabet, and he perniciously wrote a great deal of falsehood against the teachings of the Catholic faith in that same Slavic language.² On account of this, he is said to have been condemned by divine judgement to a swift end.

When this decision was finally promulgated by judgment of the synod and confirmed by papal authority, all the priests of the Slavs were filled with great sadness. All their churches were closed, and they were silenced from the customary offices.

Now it happened that a foreign priest named Wolf turned up in Croatia, who wore on his face a look of piety but concealed in his heart the poison of his deceit. He went out whispering among the people, representing himself as having been sent by the pope.³ As if pitying their weakness, he promised them helpful advice, saying, "Know that my lord the pope has been greatly saddened to hear that the churches are closed to you and your priests forbidden from saying divine office. So send a delegation now to my lord, and know that what you wish you will be able to obtain."

When the elders had assembled and held a council, they sent the priest Wolf to Rome bearing some small gifts from them.

250–1, 270–3, 280–1, and Eduard Hercigonja, "Glagolitism and Glagolism," in Supićić (ed.), *Croatia*, pp. 369–99.

³ It is possible that Thomas' story was based on the events connected with the anti-pope Honorius II (Bishop Cadalous of Parma, 1061–72), who was expelled from Rome in 1064, but remained in northern Italy. For more, see Nada Klaić, *Povijest Hrvata u ranom srednjem vijeku* [A history of the Croats in the early Middle Ages] (Zagreb: Školska knjiga, 1975), pp. 370–5.

presbiter arrepto itinere Romam venit, munuscula Chroatorum cum eorum petitionibus ad pedes domini pape detulit eumque suppliciter rogavit, ut statum ecclesiarum et clericorum in regno Sclavonico in morem pristinum revocaret. Tunc summus pontifex ei respondit quod non erat iustum, ut contra statuta legatorum apostolice sedis aliquid facili consilio ageretur: «Tu autem receptis nostris apicibus ad archiepiscopum et regem et ad ceteros prelatos illius provincie perfer, ut duo episcopi pro his negotiis ad nos accedant, quia te, utpote ignotum, super his exaudire minime possumus.»

Malignus ergo presbiter papalia scripta non quibus missa erant detulit, sed ad Gothos,¹ qui eum miserant, reverti otius properavit. Tunc percontantibus eum, quid de suis petitionibus apud sedem apostolicam actum esset, respondit dicens: «Ecce per Dei gratiam, quicquid voluistis a domino papa impetravi, nam ecclesie vestre apperte sunt, sacerdotibus vestris officia restituta sunt. Insuper etiam hoc vobis optinui, ut de gente vestra et de littera vestra vobis pontificem eligatis mecumque ad eundem papa cum aliquibus muneribus consecrandum mitatis.»

Quod audientes Gothi multum leti effecti sunt et illico quendam senem rudem, nomine Cededam, episcopum elegerunt eumque cum quodam abbate, Potepa nomine, et cum Ulfo presbitero, totius magistro nequitie, Romam properanter miserunt. Qui cum ante presentiam summi pontificis accessisset, percontatus est eos ipse, qui nam essent. Nefandus presbiter respondit: «Ex Dalmatie partibus sumus vestraque potest reminisci paternitas me dudum ad vestram accessisse benivolentiam. Et istis ad pedes vestre sanctitatis venire placuit, ut genti sue, sicut omnibus, gratiam faciatis. Nimirum et iste nobilissimus Gothorum vir ad hoc venit, ut per vos plenius instructus veritatis normam valeat liberius predicare.» Rursus dominus papa: «Quo honore

¹ That is, the Glagolitic clergy.

The priest started on his journey and presently reached Rome; laying the presents of the Croats together with their petitions at the pope's feet, he entreated him humbly to restore the condition of the churches and clergy in the Slavonic realm to what they had formerly been. The pope then answered him that it was not right to do anything contrary to the decisions of the legates of the Apostolic See without greater thought: "I will give you a letter; take it and show it to the archbishop and the king and the other prelates of that province, and let two bishops come to me concerning these matters. For you are a person unknown to me, and I cannot listen to you regarding these things."

Then the dishonest priest, instead of delivering the papal documents to those to whom they had been addressed, made haste to return to the Goths¹ who had sent him. When they asked him what had been done about their petitions at the Holy See, he answered, "Behold, by the grace of God I have secured everything that you wished from the pope; your churches are open; the divine office is restored to your priests. I have in addition obtained this for you: that you should choose a bishop from your people and of your language and send him with me to the pope, together with some gifts, to be consecrated."

Upon hearing this, the Goths greatly rejoiced, and then immediately elected an ignorant old man named Cededa as bishop and sent him quickly to Rome together with an abbot named Potepa and with the priest Wolf, the mastermind of all this wickedness. When they had come into the presence of the supreme pontiff, he asked them who they were. The wicked priest replied, "We are from Dalmatia, Holy Father; you may remember that once before you were kind enough to receive me. These men wished to come to Your Holiness's feet, so that you might bestow grace on their people as on all others. And this most illustrious man of the Goths has come so that when he has been more fully instructed by you, he might preach more freely the precepts of the true faith." The pope replied, "What office does

fungitur?» Responsum est, quod dudum in sua littera presbiter fuerit. Ad hec papa: «Et cur barbam radere secundum catholice ecclesie morem renuit?» Sceleratus presbiter inquit: «Ideo, domine, ad vestram venit presentiam, ut amodo vestram faciat obedientiam.» Illico autem venerandus pontifex propria manu paucos pilos de barba illius precidit et mox astantibus, ut eum ecclesiastico more raderent, iussit. Ad presbiterum vero ait: «Non ego iusseram tibi hos viros, sed pontifices pro tanto negotio ad me vocare.» Presbiter ad hec: «Voluere, inquit, domine, sed minime potuerunt.» Igitur dominus papa, consilio habito, taliter eis respondit: «Scitote, filii, quia hec, que petere Gothi student, sepenumero audisse me recolo, sed propter Arrianos, inventores litterature huiusmodi, dare eis licentiam in sua lingua tractare divina, sicut predecessores mei, sic et ego nullatenus audeo. Nunc vero euntes gentem illam observare facite omnia, que a venerabili fratre nostro Maynardo sancte Rufine episcopo cardinali sinodaliter statuta sunt, quoad usque legati nostri illuc accedant.» His auditis ab aspectu domini pape sese gradu concito submoverunt ad suam provinciam regredi properantes. Tunc Cededa Ulfum presbiterum requisivit dicens: «Dic mihi, quid utilitatis nobis contulit domini pape adisse presentiam?» Cui Ulfus respondit: «Quod ardenti animo desiderasti me laborante adeptus es.» Ad hec Cededa: «Quid?» inquit. Ulfus dixit: «Quia te papa pontificem ordinavit.» Cededa ait: «Quo modo?» Ulfus respondit: «Tante potestatis est dominus papa, ut cuicumque aliquos pilos de barba manu sua dempserit, continuo episcopus fiat.» Hoc audiens fatuus senex magno repletus est gaudio. Et mox virgam pastorem comparavit et anulum.

Denique ingredientibus eis fines Chroatie compatriote audito eorum adventu leti obviaverunt suo pontifici eumque cum magno tripudio susceperunt. Et qui non pastor verus erat, sed

he hold?" He answered in his own language that for a long time he had been a priest. To this the pope remarked, "And why has he refused to shave his beard according to the custom of the Catholic church?" The wicked priest replied, "This is why, my lord, he has come to you, so that from now on he might fully obey you." Right there and then the venerable pontiff cut a few hairs of the man's beard with his own hand, and then ordered those standing by to shave him according to ecclesiastical custom. Then to the priest he said, "I did not order you on a matter of such weight to summon these men to me, but bishops." The priest said to him, "They wished to come, my lord, but they were not at all able." Then the pope replied to them after having taken counsel, "Understand, my sons, that what the Goths ardently seek, I recall often having heard, but because the inventors of such writing were Arians, I, like my predecessors, would not venture to give them permission to treat divine things in their own language. Now go and, until our legates arrive there, see to it that your people observe everything that was decreed in the synod by our venerable Brother Maynard, cardinal bishop of Saint Rufina." When they had heard this they withdrew speedily from the pope's presence and hastened to return to their own province. Afterwards Cededá questioned Wolf: "Tell me, what good has it done us to have approached the lord pope in person?" To this Wolf answered, "What you have been longing for ardently you have attained by means of my efforts." Cededá asked, "What is that?" Wolf said, "The pope has ordained you a bishop." Cededá asked, "How so?" Wolf answered, "The lord pope has such great power that whoever has had any hairs of his beard removed by the pope's hand immediately becomes a bishop." When the foolish old man heard this, he was filled with great joy. And soon afterwards he procured a pastoral staff and ring.

Finally they crossed the border into Croatia, and their countrymen who had heard of their coming met their bishop with joy and received him with great jubilation. But because he was not

lupus rapax sub ovina pelle latebat, nimirum a suis erat fructibus cognoscendus.¹ Etenim primo impetu Veglensem episcopum cum omni celeritate de sua sede fugavit eamque sibi quasi auctoritate apostolica usurpavit. Tunc, pro pudor, fantasticus pontifex cepit in consecrandis ecclesiis, in ordinandis clericis et aliis episcopalibus ministeriis exercendis divina officia prophanare.

Sed omnipotentis virtus non diu passa est fraudem diabolice ludificationis animas decipere infelices. Statim namque cum hec impia gesta summi fuissent pontificis auribus intimata, gravi merore confectus, absque omni mora quendam legatum Iohannem cardinalem² mittere festinavit ad extirpandam nefandi scismatis fomitem de partibus Sclavonie. Itaque cardinalis ad illas partes adveniens multitudinem populi et cleri coadunari iussit ipsumque pseudoepiscopum coram suis Gothis de tante temeritatis nequitia durissime increpavit, denuntians omnibus, quod nullum sacri ministerii ordinem a summo pontifice datum ei fuisset. Quam ob rem ipsum Cededam et Potepam cum suis sequacibus perpetui anathematis mucrone a fidelium consortio detruncavit, Ulfum vero, tanti sceleris inventorem tantique satorem erroris, usque Spalatum trahi iussit. Ubi congregata synodo³ eundem iniquum presbiterum ab omni ordine clericali deposuit multisque affectum verberibus, atonso capite, adusta stigmate fronte, sicut papa iusserat, perpetuo carcere detrudi fecit. Sed cum malesanus Cedula ab incepta temeritate nullatenus resipisceret multaue scandali materia propter ipsum in toto regno fuisset exorta, preceptum est a summo pontifice, ut tam in Romana quam in Spalatina ecclesia et per cunctam provinciam solempnis anathematizatio fieret super eum. Quod

¹ Cf. Matt. 7: 15–6.

² John Minutus (Minuzzo), created cardinal by Pope Nicholas II (1058–61) with the title of S. Maria in Trastevere in 1061. He died around 1090.

a true shepherd but a ravenous wolf in sheep's clothing, only too readily was he known by his fruits.¹ In fact, in his first act he expelled the bishop of Krk from his see with all speed, and usurped it for himself as if by apostolic authority. Then—for shame!—the make-believe bishop began to profane the divine office by consecrating churches, ordaining clerics and exercising other episcopal functions.

But the power of the Almighty did not suffer this diabolical trickery to ensnare hapless souls for long. As soon as word of these impious acts reached the ears of the supreme pontiff, he was deeply grieved, and without any delay he hastened to send a legate, the cardinal John,² to rid the region of Slavonia of this wicked hotbed of schism. When the cardinal arrived in that land he ordered the people and clerics to assemble in great number. He then rebuked the false bishop very harshly in front of his own Goths for such foolhardy wickedness, declaring to all that no holy office had been given to him by the supreme pontiff. For this reason he severed Cededá and Potepa along with their followers from the company of the faithful with the sword of perpetual anathema. Wolf, the author of such wickedness and disseminator of such great error, he ordered to be taken to Split. There, after calling a synod,³ the cardinal deposed the wicked priest from every clerical order. Then having suffered many blows of the lash, his head having been shorn and a mark branded on his forehead, as the pope had ordered, he was thrown into prison in perpetuity. But the crazed Cededá in no way came to his senses and did not repent of the recklessness on which he had embarked. So after many grounds for scandal had arisen on account of him throughout the entire kingdom, the pope ordered that solemn anathema be pronounced upon him in Rome as well as in the church of Split and throughout the whole prov-

³ This synod was most probably held in 1063. The aforementioned Bishop John of Trogir came to Dalmatia as a member of the cardinal's entourage ("Život," pp. 103–5). The acts of the synod are not extant; see MMS, pp. 142–8.

cum Rome bis, et in Spalatina synodo tribus vicibus factum fuisset, ecce repente divina ultio in ipsum manifestata est. Nam cum nichil languoris nichilque doloris in corpore pateretur, secessum petiit ex consueta necessitate nature ibique subitaneo dolore correptus evulsis a corpore visceribus omnia intestina in secessum effudit. Et sic homo impius Arrianam imitatus perfidiam, iusto Dei iudicio ignominiosa Arrii morte dampnatus est.¹

His ita gestis dominus Alexander papa de hac luce migravit. Cui substitutus est dominus Gregorius septimus.² Hic ergo misit legatum ad partes Dalmatie venerabilem virum Gerardum³ archiepiscopum Sipontinum.⁴ Qui Spalatum accedens cum magno gaudio et honore a Laurentio archiepiscopo susceptus est. Misit igitur et convocavit suffraganeos Salonitane metropolis universos. Qui cum convenissent, provincialem cum eis synodum apud Salonam debita maturitate celebravit.⁵ Interfuerunt autem isti suffraganei ecclesie Spalatensis: primo Laurentius archiepiscopus, secundus post eum Stephanus episcopus Iaderensis, Iohannes Traguriensis, Forminus Nonensis, Gregorius Arbensis, Theodosius Belgradensis, Gregorius Chroatensis, Basilius Absarensis et alii quidam.⁶ In hac synodo restauratus est episcopatus Nonensis, cuius episcopus Gregorius multas olim molestias Iohannem Spalatensem archiepiscopum sustinere fecit,

¹ Thomas' direct source for the death of Arius was not known. The standard description of the death of Arius is that of Socrates Scholasticus (*Eccl. hist.*, lib. I, cap. 38), based on the less explicit one in the letter of St. Athanasius to Serapion (*Lett.* 54). However, it is unlikely that Thomas used Socrates directly, as that text was written in Greek, but rather one of its retellings in Latin.

² Pope Gregory VII (1073–85).

³ Gerald (I) was from 1066 the bishop of Siponto, which was during his pontificate promoted to the rank of archbishopric in 1074. He died around 1087.

⁴ An abandoned ancient city located three kilometers to the south of present-day Manfredonia.

⁵ Thomas is here confusing two synods. The first was held in Split in 1075 and was presided over by Gerald (CD 1: 136–7), while the second was held “near

ince. This was done in Rome twice and in Split by the synod three times. And behold how divine retribution was suddenly visited on him. For although there was no weakness or pain in his body, when he went to the privy to answer the customary needs of nature, he was there seized by sudden pain, his bowels were torn out from his body, and all his entrails spilled down the privy. And thus this impious man, the follower of Arian faithlessness, was condemned by the just judgement of God to the same ignominious death as Arius.¹

After these events, Pope Alexander departed this life. His successor was Gregory the Seventh.² He sent a legate to Dalmatia, the venerable Gerald,³ archbishop of Siponto.⁴ When he arrived at Split he was received with great joy and honor by Archbishop Lawrence. Then he summoned all the suffragans of the metropolitan see of Salona, and when they convened, he celebrated with them a most appropriate provincial synod at Solin.⁵ These suffragans of the church of Split were present: first Archbishop Lawrence, second after him Bishop Stephen of Zadar, John of Trogir, Forminus of Nin, Gregory of Rab, Theodosius of Biograd, Gregory of Croatia, Basilus of Osor, and certain others.⁶ At this synod the bishopric of Nin was restored. In days gone by its bishop Gregory had once caused much trouble for Archbishop John of Split by withholding the obedience owed to

Salona" in 1076 and was presided over by another papal legate, Abbot Gebizo (CD 1: 139–41). At the first one there was reestablished the bishopric of Nin, while at the second the coronation of King Zvonimir took place.

⁶ This list is compiled on the basis of the list of witnesses of the forged privilege of King Zvonimir confirming the possession of the church of St. George of Putalj to the church of Split (CD 1: 141–2). The list in itself seems to be correct, with the exception that the bishop of Biograd at that time was no longer Theodosius (mentioned for the last time in 1065), but Dobro (1066–75). However, the charter, although a forgery, was apparently treated by Thomas as authentic and was several times used as a source. See above, n. 6, p. 63. For more, see MMS, pp. 148–51.

debitam ei subtrahendo obedientiam et sibi ius metropoliticum indebite vendicando.¹

Interea venerabilis Girardus legatus, Spalati positus, invenit ibi supra memoratum Ulfum presbiterum, cui Golfancus agnomen erat, ab annis iam duodecim papali iussu gravissimis compedibus alligatum propter scismatis nefarium scelus, quod cum Cededa exercuerat in regionibus Dalmatie atque Chroatie. Hunc ergo fecit absolvi dicens, quia dominus Alexander, felix memorie, in suo decessu precepit universos suo iussu in carceratos absolvi.² Prius tamen fecit eum super evangelium et super corpus beati Domnii subire corporaliter iuramentum, ut in abiuratum heresim numquam relabi deberet et de his partibus egrediens numquam rediret, sed cum eo Romam adiens apostolico se conspectui permetteret exhiberi.

Denique his taliter actis ad Laurentium archiepiscopum redeamus. Ordinatus est in sede Salonitane ecclesie anno incarnationis millesimo sexagesimo, temporibus Michaelis imperatoris,³ regum vero Stephani, Cresimiri, et Suinimiri,⁴ qui fuit ultimus rex Chroatorum. Iste Laurentius inter multa alia pietatis opera fecit monasterium monialium sancti Benedicti⁵ quod satis abundanter temporalibus predictum subsidiis regularibus instituit disciplinis, ponens ibi religiosas feminas, que iuste casteque viventes, sancta conversatione deberent deo et hominibus complacere.

¹ Thomas is here alluding to the conflict between Bishop Gregory of Nin and Archbishop John of Split, which was the main topic of synods held in Split in 925–8. Thomas' sources were the acts of these synods (CD 1: 30–3, 36–8), which he quotes almost verbatim here, but which otherwise he has chosen to omit from his report in order to claim for Split metropolitan rights older than the tenth century. For these synods, see Vadim Prozorov, *The Councils of Split in 925 and 928. An Attempt of the Comparative Approach* (unpublished MA Thesis, Budapest: CEU 1995). For the Spalatin synods of the tenth and the eleventh centuries, see Atanazije G. Matanić (ed.), *Vita religiosa, morale e sociale ed i concili di Split (Spalato) dei secc. 10–11, Atti del Symposium internazionale di storia ecclesiastica, Split 26–30. settembre 1978* (Padua: Antenore, 1982).

² The story of the deathbed amnesty proclaimed by Pope Alexander II is, as far as we know, not mentioned in other sources.

him and without warrant claiming for himself the rights of a metropolitan.¹

While the venerable legate Gerald was in Split he also found there the aforementioned priest Wolf, nicknamed Wolfgang, who for twelve years had been imprisoned in heavy shackles by papal order for his wicked crime of schism, in which he had engaged with Cededra in the region of Dalmatia and Croatia. The legate thereupon ordered him to be released, explaining that Pope Alexander of blessed memory had instructed at his death that everyone imprisoned by his order should be released.² First, however, the legate made him swear on the Gospel and on the body of the blessed Domnius that he would never relapse into the heresy that he had abjured, that he would leave these parts and never return, and that he would also accompany the legate to Rome, where he would allow himself to be brought before the pope.

Now after recounting these events let us return to Archbishop Lawrence. He was elevated to the see of Salona in the year of the Incarnation 1060, in the time of Emperor Michael³ and of the kings Stephen, Krešimir and Zvonimir,⁴ he being the last king of the Croats. Among many other acts of piety, Lawrence established a convent of Benedictine nuns,⁵ richly endowed with temporal grants, and he instituted a regular discipline, placing there devout women who, living uprightly and blamelessly, might please both God and man by their holy way of life.

³ Michael VII Ducas (1071–8); however, in 1060, the emperor was Constantine X Ducas (1059–67).

⁴ Peter Krešimir IV (1058–75) and Demetrius Zvonimir (1075/6–89). King Stephen, mentioned here, is actually Zvonimir's successor Stephen II (1088–91), and not Stephen I (ca. 1030–58), the father of Peter Krešimir IV, who died before Lawrence became the archbishop. Thomas apparently confused these two kings: this might have influenced his statement that Zvonimir was the last king of the Croats.

⁵ The nunnery of St. Benedict, founded in December 1068 (CD 1: 109–12).

His temporibus celebrata fuit synodus in civitate Nonensi¹ sub Iohanne cardinali apostolice sedis legato. Ubi proclamationem faciente Laurentio archiepiscopo illustris vir Demetrius, cognomento Suinimir, rex Chroatorum, restituit ecclesie sancti Domnii ecclesias sancti Stephani et sancte Marie in Salona cum omnibus earum bonis. Has siquidem ecclesias edificavit et dotavit quedam Helena regina,² donans eas Spalatine sedi iure perpetuo possidendas. Que ob reverentiam regalium sepulchrorum concesse fuerant quibusdam regularibus ad tempus, qui assidue in eis officiorum ministeria exercebant. Ibi namque magnificus vir Cresimirus rex,³ in atrio videlicet basilice sancti Stephani, tumultus est cum pluribus aliis regibus et reginis.⁴

Prefuit autem Laurentius Salonitane metropoli annis circiter quadraginta.⁵ Quo quiescente in Domino de subrogandi electione non potuerunt esse concordēs. Quam ob rem voluntas omnium extitit ad dominum papam legationem mittere, suppliciter postulando, ut Spalatensi ecclesie de pastore ydoneo provideret. Tandem eorum petitionibus summus pontifex acquievit, dans eis presulem Crescentium,⁶ natione Romanum, virum valde egregium et omni peditum bonitate.

¹ This synod is mentioned only by Thomas and may be dated to around 1079.

² Queen Helen (died 976) was the wife of Michael Krešimir II (949–69) and mother of Stephen Držislav (969–97). She was buried there, as was commemorated by a memorial slab with a lengthy inscription found during the archaeological excavations in 1898. For more, see Mirjana Matijević Sokol, "Latin Inscriptions," in Supićić (ed.), *Croatia*, pp. 243–6, and Vedrana Delonga, *The Latin Epigraphic Monuments of Early Mediaeval Croatia* (Split: The Museum of Croatian Archeological Monuments, 1996), pp. 141–4.

³ Thomas is here probably alluding to the fact that Michael Krešimir was styled as *Maior* in a document of 1066/67 (CD 1: 105).

⁴ The existence of two churches and a royal mausoleum in the locality of Otok (a river island) in Solin is confirmed by archaeological evidence. See Ante Piteša, Ivana Marijanović, Aida Šarić and Jerko Marasović, "Arheološka

At that time a synod was held in the city of Nin¹ under the direction of the papal legate, Cardinal John. Archbishop Lawrence there announced that the illustrious Demetrius, surnamed Zvonimir, king of the Croats, was restoring to the church of Saint Domnius the churches of Saint Stephen and Saint Mary in Solin, together with all their goods. These churches had been founded and endowed by a certain Queen Helen,² who gave them to the see of Split to hold in perpetuity. But they had been temporarily granted to the regular clergy, so that they might accord reverence to the royal tombs, and these monks assiduously performed their rites and services in them. There the most noble King Krešimir³ is buried in the atrium of the basilica of Saint Stephen, along with many other kings and queens.⁴

Lawrence occupied the archbishopric of Salona for about forty years.⁵ After he went to his Maker, no agreement could be reached about the election of his successor. Therefore all agreed to send a delegation to the pope to request humbly that he find a suitable pastor for the church of Split. The pope in due course acceded to their pleas, giving them an archbishop named Crescentius,⁶ a Roman, a most distinguished man endowed with every virtue.

mjesta i spomenici” [Archaeological sites and monuments], in *Starohrvatski Solin* [Early medieval Solin] (Split: Arheološki muzej, 1992), pp. 121–30, and Delonga, *The Latin Epigraphic Monuments*, p. 140.

⁵ Lawrence was mentioned for the last time in diplomatic documents in 1095 (CD 1: 204). He died around 1099. There is also his epitaph on a sarcophagus. See Ludwig Steindorff and Rade Mihaljević, *Namentragende Steininschriften in Jugoslawien vom Ende des 7. bis zur Mitte des 13. Jahrhunderts*, Glossar zur frühmittelalterlichen Geschichte im östlichen Europa 2 (Wiesbaden: Steiner Verlag, 1982), p. 65, no. 101.

⁶ Crescentius is mentioned for the first time in a bull of Pope Paschal II (1099–1118) of 1102 (CD 2: 4–5).

XVII. QUALITER HUNGARI CEPERUNT DOMINIUM DALMATIE ET CHROATIE

Eo namque tempore rex Suinimirus mortis debitum solvit nulumque sue posteritatis heredem reliquit.¹ Sic ergo tota regalis sanguinis deficiente prosapia, non fuit ulterius, qui in regno Chroatorum rite succedere debuisset.

Cepit itaque inter omnes regni procures magna discordia suboriri. Et cum divisim modo hic modo ille regnandi ambitione sibi terre dominium vendicaret, innumerabiles rapine, predationes, cedes et omnium facinorum semina emerunt. Alter enim alterum insequi, invadere, trucidare cotidie non cessabat.

Verum his temporibus extitit quidam ex magnatibus Sclavonie, qui, cum a suis esset contribulibus multis laceratus iniuriis multisque dampnis attritus, non sperans se posse aliter tantis resistere malis, in Hungariam profectus est. Tunc ad regem Vladislavum² ingressus, eum alloqui cepit, persuadens ei, ut ad capiendum Chroatie regnum et suo dominatui subiugandum exiret dans ei plenam fiduciam id facile posse complere, cum regnum illud vacuum et sine tutela regalis providentie remansisset.

His ergo Vladislavus rex inductus consiliis absque mora coadunato exercitu copioso venit et occupavit totam terram a Dravo fluvio usque ad Alpes que dicuntur ferree nullo obice resistente. Post hec transivit Alpes et cepit impugnare munitiones et castra multaque prelia comittere cum gentibus Chroatie. Sed cum alter alteri non ferret auxilium essentque divisi ab invicem, facilem victoriam rex potuit optinere. Nec tamen usque ad maritimas regiones pervenit, sed audiens, quod quedam gens

¹ King Zvonimir died in 1089. See also above, n. 4, p. 89.

² (St.) Ladislav I (1077–95). Thomas apparently knew the *Legenda sancti Ladislai regis* (ed. by Emma Bartoniek, *SRA* 2, pp. 507–27) written for his canonization, for which, see chapter 23, below.

17 HOW THE HUNGARIANS ACQUIRED DOMINION OVER DALMATIA AND CROATIA

At that time King Zvonimir died and left no heir from his posterity.¹ With him the entire royal bloodline ceased, so there was now no one who might rightly succeed to the kingdom of the Croats.

And so there came to be great conflict among all the nobles of the kingdom. And as first this one, then that one, with ambitions to be king separately claimed lordship of the land, there arose countless acts of pillage, robbery and murder, and the breeding grounds of every crime. Day after day people attacked, hunted down and murdered each other without respite.

However, at this time there was one among the magnates of Slavonia who had sustained many injuries and losses from those of his folk. Having no hope that he could otherwise stand against so many evils, he set out for Hungary; there he approached King Ladislav² and spoke with him. He urged him to go out and seize the kingdom of Croatia and subjugate it to his lordship, and gave him full assurance that he could accomplish this easily, since the throne was vacant and the kingdom remained without a king to guard and protect it.

Persuaded by this advice, King Ladislav without delay assembled a large army, and came and occupied the entire land from the River Drava to the mountains called the Iron Alps without encountering opposition. Subsequently he crossed these mountains and began to attack fortifications and castles, and engaged in many battles with the peoples of Croatia. But as they did not send aid to each other and were divided among themselves, the king was able to gain an easy victory. However, he did not advance as far as the coastal areas; for he had news that a certain people had invaded his own land, and so he re-

sui regni fines intraverat, in Hungariam repedavit. Fuit autem rex iste non solum armis strenuus, sed relligione et sanctitate insignis.

Huius temporibus gens Scithica in multitudine gravi intra Hungarie fines irrumpens, magnas hominum strages fecerunt.¹ Sed Vladislavus rex coacto in unum sui regni exercitu in hostiles turmas viriliter irruens, divino protectus auxilio, maiorem partem barbarice nationis passim per campos stravit in mortem, alios vero extra regni confinia effugavit.

Denique Vladislavo rege migrante ad Dominum, Colomannus sibi in regno successit. Hic, cum esset vir ferocis animi,² proposuit totam teram usque ad mare Dalmaticum suo dominio subiugare. Venit ergo cum multo armorum apparatu et optinuit ceteram partem Sclavonie, que a Vladislavo fuerat pretermissa.

Itaque ad mare usque pervenit, ut civitates maritimas occuparet. Tunc ad Spalatensem civitatem primo accessit,³ petens pacifice, ut sua se sponte dominatui eius subicerent, nec ante permetterent destrui se et sua. At vero Spalatenses obfirmatis bene portis per murorum circuitum cum armis diffusi, non acquiescebant regi, metuentes dominium gentis ignote et extranee experiri, quippe nescientes, quid rex de civitate vel de civibus cogitaret. Tum rex et eius principes indigne ferentes et se quasi contemptos a Spalatensibus arbitantes ceperunt multa civibus cominari. Et positis castris non longe a civitate devastabant campos predasque, quas poterant, faciebant. Unde factum est, ut Spalatenses obdurato animo cuncta proponerent sustinere

¹ A nomadic people in the sources referred to as Cumans attacked Hungary for the first time in 1091.

² Thomas' characterization of King Coloman (1095–1116) as warlike is peculiar, for he is usually referred to as "the Bookish," having been originally destined to be a clergyman.

³ Sources give different data on the order of Coloman's entering into Dalmatian cities. For the ensuing scholarly debate, see Ludwig Steindorff, *Die*

turned to Hungary. That king was not only a fine soldier, but also distinguished for his piety and holiness.

It was at this time that the Scythian people in a vast horde burst into Hungary and caused great slaughter of the people.¹ But King Ladislav gathered the forces of his kingdom into one and manfully attacked the enemy bands. Shielded by divine help, he left the plains strewn with the dead bodies of the greater part of the barbarian people; the remainder he drove in flight beyond the borders of the kingdom.

Eventually Ladislav went to the Lord, and Coloman succeeded him as king. Coloman was a man of warlike spirit,² and resolved to subjugate to his lordship all the land to the Adriatic Sea. He came with a force of arms and took possession of the remaining part of Slavonia, which Ladislav had passed over.

Thus he reached the sea and could occupy the coastal cities. First he came to the city of Split,³ and he asked them in peaceful terms to submit to his lordship of their own accord and not suffer themselves and their possessions to be destroyed first. But the Spalatins locked their gates firmly against his face and deployed their forces along the length of the walls. The reason that they would not submit to the king's demands was that they feared to make trial of the lordship of an unknown and foreign people, for they did not know what the king had in mind for the city and its citizens. The king and his nobles were indignant at this, feeling as if the Spalatins held them in contempt. They made many threats against the citizens, and after placing their camp not far from the city began to lay waste the fields and to carry off booty wherever they could. The result was that the Spalatins grew all the more stubborn, preferring

dalmatinischen Städte im 12. Jahrhundert: Studien zu ihrer politischen Stellung und gesellschaftlichen Entwicklung (Cologne–Vienna: Böhlau, 1984), pp. 49–62, and MMS, p. 413.

pericula et dampna potius quam iugum susciperent Hungarorum. Cum ergo sic aliquantum temporis pertransisset, intellexerunt tandem per internuntios, homines esse christianos, et quod rex vellet cum eis benigne agere, si se eius ditioni adhuc pacifice subiugarent. Tunc Spalatenses, inter se facto consilio, miserunt Crescentium archiepiscopum ad regem Colomannum pacem postulantes ab eo. Quem ille benigne suscipiens, annuit omnibus petitionibus, quas Spalatenses fecerant pro pacis federe componendo. Facta igitur conscriptione omnium, que hinc inde fuerant ex beneplacito stabilita, iuravit rex cum suis principibus, omnia firmiter observare. Postera vero die iuraverunt Spalatenses, primo quidem maiores, deinde iuniores, postea vulgus omne, ut Colomanno regi et eius posteris, ac regno Hungarie subiecti et fideles omni tempore permanerent. Tunc rex civitatem ingressus, valde honorifice a clero et populo susceptus est. Et ea die procuratione affluenter a comuni suscepta confectisque ac traditis emunitatis privilegiis, profectus est.¹

Inde autem pertransiens venit Tragurium et deinde Iaderam. A quibus civitatibus simili exemplo susceptus fecit eis libertatis privilegium. Et sic in Hungariam est regressus anno Domini M.C.III.²

XVIII. QUALITER MANASES VOLUIT PRODERE CIVITATEM

Defuncto autem bone memorie Crescentio archiepiscopo³ electio facta est ad instantiam laycorum in quendam clericum de curia Colomanni regis, qui erat gratosus apud eum, nomine Manasses.⁴ Qui consecratus a summo pontifice in civitate

¹ Thomas is referring to the so-called privileges of the Trogir type, which have been heavily debated in scholarship. See Steindorff, *Die dalmatinischen Städte*, pp. 11–25, and MMS, p. 412.

² Thomas' source for 1103 as the year of Coloman's stay in Dalmatia is based on the forged privilege of Coloman to the church of Split (CD 2: 10–1). The real date, 1105, is commemorated by a still existing inscription on the belfry of the church of St. Mary the Lesser in Zadar.

to undergo every danger and suffer any injury rather than submit to the yoke of the Hungarians. After some time had thus passed, they finally learned through intermediaries that these people were Christians and that the king intended to treat them generously, if they would even now submit to him peacefully. The Spalatins took counsel among themselves and sent Archbishop Crescentius to King Coloman, asking the king for peace. The archbishop was graciously received, and King Coloman agreed to all the terms that the Spalatins stipulated in the peace agreement. Then a document was drawn up detailing all that was granted and agreed to between the two sides, and the king together with his nobles swore to uphold all its articles faithfully. The next day the Spalatins swore an oath, first those from the leading families, then those from lesser ones, then all the common people, that they would remain forever subject and loyal to King Coloman and his issue and to the kingdom of Hungary. Then the king entered the city and was received with all honor by the clergy and people. And on the same day, after being generously provisioned by the community, and after drawing up and handing down charters of privilege and immunity, he departed.¹

He next traveled to Trogir and then to Zadar. In these cities he was received in like wise, and he granted to each of them a charter of liberties. And so he returned to Hungary, in the year 1103.²

18 HOW MANASSES WANTED TO BETRAY THE CITY

As Archbishop Crescentius of blessed memory had died,³ at the urging of the laity a certain clerk named Manasses⁴ from

³ Archbishop Crescentius was mentioned for the last time in 1111 (CD 2: 21–3). His sarcophagus with the epitaph still stands near the cathedral of Split. See Steindorff and Mihaljčić, *Namentragende Steininschriften*, p. 63, no. 97.

⁴ Manasses is mentioned in a document of 1113 (*Serie* 7: 151–2).

manebat et sepius in Hungariam proficiscendo regis curiam frequentabat.

Dederant autem Spalatenses regi Colomanno turrem orientalis anguli. Rex autem posuerat ibi ducem quendam cum non parva militum manu, qui erat per Chroatiam exactor regalium tributorum.

Contigit autem eo tempore, ut idem dux vellet civitatem capere eamque totaliter depredari. Habito itaque consilio cum complicibus suis deliberatum est hoc non posse oportunius fieri, quam si vellet archiepiscopus huic consilio consentire. Vocatus ergo archiepiscopus venit, consensum prebuit, diem statuit, ut cum universus populus ad solempnitatem consecrationis cuiusdam oratorii de more conflueret, Hungari, qui erant in turri, supergrederentur menia civitatis, ceteri vero, qui extra erant, viso signo accederent et sic civitas suorum effeta subsidio civium facile capi posse ostendit. Et placuit duci consilium et cunctis collateralibus eius et omnia sunt ad nutum presulis preparata.

Ea tempestate quidam egregie strenuitatis vir, Adrianus nomine,¹ Latinus gente, patria Trivisanus, erat comes rectorque fidelissimus civitatis.² Hic magis suorum civium saluti et libertati consulens quam proprie dignitati, tante fraudis nequitiam civibus patefecit et mox ad solum patrie fugiens repedavit. Spalatenses vero facta societate cum Tragurinis et aliis Dalmatinis ponentes usquequaque custodias sibi tacite precaverunt.

¹ Adrian is mentioned in a document of 1113 as prior (*Serie 7*: 151–2).

² The count was the person governing a city in the name of the king or another sovereign (e.g. the Venetian doge). While Dalmatia was under the rule of the kings of Hungary–Croatia this position was usually given to royal deputies (bans) or Croatian magnates. As opposed to the count, the rector was a term for a head of the city government chosen on the local level from among the local potentates and responsible to the community (similar titles to that of rector were those of priors in the eleventh century or consuls in the twelfth). Rector was also a generic term for a variety of city governors.

the court of King Coloman, with whom that same Manasses enjoyed favor, was elected. Having been consecrated by the supreme pontiff, he remained resident in the city of Split, but often traveled to Hungary and attended the royal court.

Now the Spalatins had given to King Coloman a tower on the eastern corner of the city wall. There the king had placed a certain captain with a sizeable company of soldiers. He was the collector of the royal tribute for the whole of Croatia.

It happened at that time that the same captain wanted to seize the city and despoil it totally. He took counsel with his accomplices, and it was decided that it could be carried out most conveniently if the archbishop agreed to go along with the plan. So the archbishop was summoned and came, and he gave agreement and proposed a date when the entire populace would be gathered together, as customary, to celebrate the consecration of a certain oratory; then the Hungarians in the tower could scale the city ramparts, while the others who were outside at a given signal would rush to their aid; thus, he pointed out, the city, without its citizens to protect it, would show itself prone to an easy capture. This plan pleased the captain and all of his confederates. So everything was readied according to the prelate's instructions.

At that time a Latin of particularly great vigor, named Adrian,¹ a native of Treviso, was count, and a most trustworthy governor of the city.² Thinking more of the welfare and liberty of his fellow citizens than of his own position, he revealed this wicked plot to the citizens; he then fled forthwith and returned to his native land. The Spalatins made an alliance with the Tragarins and other Dalmatians, and quietly took precautions for their safety, placing guards everywhere.

Indicta igitur solempnitate consecrationis cuiusdam oratorii, quod erat in rupibus montis Kyrieleyson appellati,¹ cuncti se civitatem simulaverunt exire, experiri volentes an verum esset, quod eis predictus comes Adrianus patefecit secretum. Protinus ergo circa horam tertiam² ceperunt, qui in turri erant, tubas clangere, vexilla erigere, per menia civitatis diffundi. At vero Spalatenses e latibulis exeuntes concito gradu ad turrim currunt, ignem supponunt, menia supergressos precipitant. Quotquot itaque in turri erant, partim fumo suffocati sunt, partim vero infelici saltu se ad terram miserunt. Qui in civitate erant, gladio ceciderunt, qui autem ad eorum confluebant auxilium, ingenti pavore percussi, trepidi confusique fugerunt. Videns ergo archiepiscopus sue fraudis facinus denudatum magno confusionis pudore obductus, civitatem exivit numquam postea reversurus.

Quo fugiente dicitur vacasse ecclesia quam pluribus annis. Interim autem Dabro Diti archidiaconus preerat capitulo,³ comes vero Cernecha⁴ civitatem regebat. Isti ambo, ut ferunt, uno consilio proventus ecclesie suis usibus retorquentes, electionem pontificis frivolis dilationibus subplantabant.

XIX. DE EXEMPTIONE IADERENSIS ECCLESIE

Eo itaque tempore Micha episcopus, Caloprestantii filius, preerat ecclesie Iaderensi.⁵ Huic promittebat Dabro archidiaconus archiepiscopatum ecclesie Spalatensis. Quam ob rem multa

¹ Marjan, a small mountain on the peninsula to the west of the medieval city.

² 8–9 a.m.

³ From the meager documentation for the first half of the twelfth century it is evident that the archiepiscopal see of Split was vacant for some time, while Dobre son of Diti was mentioned in several documents of 1119 as the archpriest (CD 2: 31–2). On Dobre, see Mirjana Matijević Sokol, "Neka pitanja o splitskom đakonu Dobri (kraj XI.-početak XII. stoljeća)" [Certain issues regarding deacon Dobre of Split (from the end of the eleventh to the beginning of the twelfth century)], in Mira Kolar-Dimitrijević (ed.), *Spomenica Ljube Bobana* [Festschrift in Honor of Ljubo Boban] (Zagreb: Zavod za hrvatsku povijest, 1996), pp. 61–71.

Then the date having been proclaimed for the rite of consecration of the oratory, which was on the cliffs of the mountain called Kyrie Eleison,¹ on that day everyone pretended to leave the city, wishing to test the truth of what Count Adrian had secretly disclosed to them. Then about the third hour,² those who were in the tower all at once began to sound the trumpets, to raise the standards and to spread out along the walls of the city. But the Spalatins came out from their hiding places, ran with all speed to the tower, and set fire to it, and pushed off the men who had mounted the walls. Of those in the tower, some were suffocated by the smoke, while others, desperately trying to save themselves, were killed leaping from the tower. The group who were in the city were put to the sword, while those who had come running to their aid lost their nerve, and fled in panic and confusion. When the archbishop saw that his treacherous act had been exposed, he was overcome with shame and confusion, and left the city, never to return.

After he had fled, it is said that the see was unoccupied for many years. In the meantime, Archdeacon Dobre, son of Dittius, presided over the chapter,³ while Count Črneha⁴ ruled the city. These two, they say, conspired to turn the income of the church to their own purposes and put off the election of a bishop by trivial delays.

19 THE EXEMPTION OF THE CHURCH OF ZADAR

At that time Bishop Micha, son of Caloprestancius, headed the church of Zadar.⁵ But Archdeacon Dobre had promised him the archbishopric of Split. On this account the archdeacon re-

⁴ Črneha is mentioned as the prior and not as the count in a document from 1119 (CD 2: 30–1). He might be identical with the person mentioned below, n. 5, p. 105.

⁵ Micha is mentioned as the bishop of Zadar in 1129 and 1133 (CD 2: 39–41) and as the archbishop in a document of 1134 (CD 2: 44–5).

donaria et exenia consequeretur ab eo. Sed quod ei de pontificatu Spalatino promiserat, nolebat ducere ad effectum. Tunc instante episcopo promisit archidiaconus talique ipsum calliditate decepit. Statuit namque diem, qua Spalatium veniens missam caneret, admonitionem faceret, ne tanto tempore sinerent suam ecclesiam pastore viduatam manere. Et inter hec verba pollicitus est archidiaconus primam se vocem electionis de persona episcopi emissurum. Quid plura? Venit episcopus, missam cecinit, admonitionem fecit, sed is, qui se in ipsius electionem proclamaturum promiserat, nichil dixit. Videns autem episcopus ab archidiacono sibi fore delusum, vehementer indignatus recessit proponens debitam subiectionem Spalatine metropoli subtrahere et ab ipsius iurisdictione se omnino eximere.

Defuncto tandem Micha episcopo successit alter in ecclesia Iaderensi, qui decessoris sui sequens vestigia inobediens Spalatine ecclesie permansit.¹

Tunc Spalatenses elegerunt quendam Gregorium clericum Iaderensem.² Ipse edificari fecit ecclesiam sancti Iohannis, que est capella curie.³ Sed antequam munus consecrationis suscepisset, morte preventus est.

Erat autem eo tempore Gaudius clericus, natione Spalatensis, plebanus ecclesie sancte Anastasie,⁴ eleganti statura et inter ceteros litteratior habebatur. Erat autem filius Cotini, nepos

¹ Micha's successor Peter was styled archbishop in a charter of 1138 (Lucius, *De regno*, p. 135).

² Gregory is not mentioned in extant charters.

³ This church was a part of the archiepiscopal complex in the south-eastern quarter of Diocletian's palace. It is mentioned in fourteenth-century documents. See Vladimir Rismondo, "Registar notara Nikole iz Augubija" [The register of the notary Nicholas of Gubbio], *Izdanje Historijskog arhiva u Splitu* 5 (1965): 15, 17, 20, 24, 37.

⁴ The church of St. Anastasia was built above the southern entrance to Diocletian's palace, and is mentioned in the documents of the thirteenth century (CD 5: 502). For more, see Urban Krizomali, "Crkvice svete Anastazije u

ceived many offerings and presents from him. But what he had promised concerning the archbishopric he had no intention of fulfilling. But as the bishop kept pressing, the archdeacon made him a promise but played the following trick on him. He fixed a date on which the bishop should come to Split to sing mass, and while doing so urged them not to allow their church to remain bereft of a pastor for such a long time. And the archdeacon promised that when these words were delivered he would be the first to speak in favor of electing the bishop. But what boots it to recount the outcome? The bishop came, celebrated mass, and delivered his exhortation, and the archdeacon who had promised to speak out in favor of the bishop's election said nothing! On seeing that he had been made a fool of by the archdeacon, the bishop departed in a fury, announcing that he intended to withdraw the submission that Zadar owed to the metropolitan of Split and to exempt himself completely from its jurisdiction.

After Bishop Micha died, his successor to the see of Zadar followed in the footsteps of his predecessor and refused obedience to the church of Split.¹

Subsequently, the Spalatins elected as their archbishop a certain Gregory, a cleric of Zadar.² He had the church of Saint John built, which is the chapel of the archiepiscopal court.³ But he died before he could perform the rite of consecration.

At that time a cleric called Gaudius, a native of Split, was parish priest of the church of Saint Anastasia.⁴ Gaudius was a man of imposing stature and was deemed more educated than the others. Moreover, he was a powerful man, being the son of Cotinus

Splitu" [The little church of St. Anastasia in Split], *Kulturna baština* 11–2 (1981): 64–8, and Nikola Jakšić, "Patron Saints of the Medieval Gates in Diocletian's Palace," *Hortus artium medievalium: Journal of the International Research Center for Late Antiquity and Middle Ages* 9 (2003): 187–94.

Carochule, potens homo, multorum enim erat cognatorum et affinium populositate peditus.¹ Hic ergo Spalatine ecclesie archiepiscopus est effectus.² Plebanatum vero ecclesie sancte Anastasie contulit nepoti suo Madio primicerio, fratri Iohannis Mesagalia, quia patronatus iure spectabat ad eum.³

Fuit autem Gaudius iste graciosus satis apud reges Hungarie,⁴ quippe ut elatus homo eorum curias frequentabat. Ordinatus fuit anno Domini millesimo centesimo tricesimo sexto, tempore Cerneche comitis.⁵ Vixit autem in pontificatus culmine fere XL annis.

Factum est autem, ut Desa Macarelli⁶ Traguriensi foret ecclesie in episcopum consecrandus. Vocavit ergo archiepiscopus ad consecrationem concelebrandam secum dumtaxat episcopum Chroatensem. Qui veniens et videns processum archiepiscopi contra canonicas institutiones fieri prohibuit eum dicens: «Non debet archiepiscopus cum uno episcopo solummodo electo consecrationis munus impendere.» Gaudius vero tante simplicitatis, immo temeritatis erat, ut diceret: «Quia pallium michi est loco alterius episcopi.» Tunc episcopus Chroatensis, utpote vir discretus et cautus, volens honoris sui evitare periculum, ascendit in ambonem et coram omni populo protestatus est, quod non voluntarius, sed invitus et coactus metropolitano suo in hac parte parebat. Tandem consecratione huiusmodi celebrata, protinus apud sedem apostolicam factum Gaudii archiepiscopi

¹ On the importance of belonging to a powerful kinship group for Dalmatian urban elite in that period, see Zrinka Nikolić, *The Formation of Dalmatian Urban Nobility: Examples of Split, Trogir and Zadar* (unpublished Ph.D. Thesis, Budapest: CEU, 2004), esp. pp. 88–103 and 205–16.

² Gaudius is mentioned as the archbishop in the documents from 1138 to 1158 (CD 2: 47, 48, 49, 54, 55, 60, 63, 86, 87). He is mentioned as already dead in a document from 1170 (CD 2: 127).

³ On patronage, see Nikolić, *The Formation*, pp. 19–23 and 124–38.

and the grandson of Carochula, and was blessed with numerous relatives by blood and by marriage.¹ So he was made archbishop of the church of Split.² He then bestowed the parish of Saint Anastasia on Madius the primicerius, his nephew and the brother of John Mesagalina, because the patronage belonged by right to him.³

Gaudius enjoyed great favor with the kings of Hungary,⁴ and as a man of importance often visited their court. He was ordained in the year 1136, when Črneha was count.⁵ He presided as bishop for nearly forty years.

Once it happened that Dessa, son of Macarellus,⁶ was to be consecrated bishop of Trogir. But the archbishop invited only the bishop of Croatia to celebrate the consecration with him. When the bishop arrived and saw that the archbishop was proceeding against canonical laws, he stopped him, saying, "An archbishop cannot bestow the gift of consecration upon a bishop-elect together with only one other bishop." Gaudius was so innocent, or rather so hasty, as to say, "To me, the *pallium* takes the place of another [a second] bishop." Then the bishop of Croatia, an intelligent and careful man who wished to avoid compromising his office, ascended the pulpit and before the whole people made it clear that he was complying in this process not by choice but under pressure and because he had been compelled by his metropolitan. The consecration was performed for all that; but news of what Gaudius had done swiftly

⁴ Thomas' source for this statement is the fact that during Gaudius' pontificate King Béla II (1131–41) and King Géza II (1141–61) granted privileges to the church of Split (CD 2: 47, 49, 54, 86, 87). However, they are considered to be forgeries. See MMS, pp. 244–5.

⁵ Črneha is mentioned as count together with Archbishop Gaudius in a document of 1149 (CD 2: 49).

⁶ Dessa son of Macarellus is mentioned as "the late bishop" of Trogir in 1197 (CD 2: 284).

divulgatum est. Summus vero pontifex,¹ misso apochrisario suo iussit tam archiepiscopum, qui ordinaverat, quam episcopum, qui ordinatus fuerat, ab administratione suorum ordinum perpetuo amoveri. Episcopum ero, qui protestationem fecerat, decrevit a culpa fuisse immunem. Quod et factum est. Post hec idem archiepiscopus longa paralisis egritudine dissolutus apud monasterium sancti Benedicti diu iacuit.

Sed eo adhuc vivente subrogatus est alius archiepiscopus Absalon nomine,² Hungarus natione. Quo defuncto tertius quoque substitutus est archiepiscopus Petrus Lombardus.³ Qui, cum ad eundem Gaudium gratia visitationis accederet, vidit eum adhuc episcopalem anulum gestare in digito, quam ob rem vehementer eum redarguens extraxit anulum de eius digito et abscessit.

Fuit autem Petrus iste primo episcopus Narniensis, vir magne scientie et bonorum morum actibus decoratus. Erat autem precipue eruditus in scientia phisicali ita ut respiciendo in faciem sani hominis prenosceret, quo egritudinibus genere et quo foret tempore invadendus quove medele antidoto posset languoris evitare discrimen.

Hic itaque, cum aliquot annorum curriculis Salonitane feliciter prefuisset ecclesie, profectus in Hungariam mortis debitum solvit sepultusque est in ecclesia sante Marie in Alba. Ob cuius laudabilis vite conversationem in magna veneratione ab incolis regionis illius eius tumulus habebatur.⁴

¹ This probably refers to Pope Eugene III (1145–53), who is mentioned in a letter of Pope Alexander III of 1 September 1161 (CD 2: 125). This document relates to an uncanonically performed consecration of a bishop of Trogir (not mentioned by name).

² Absalom is mentioned in Split with the title of *minister* around 1160 (CD 2: 90–1).

reached the Apostolic See. The pope¹ dispatched his legate and ordered that both the archbishop who performed the consecration and the bishop who received it were to be removed permanently from the administration of their orders; but the bishop who had protested he decreed free from blame. And accordingly it was done. Later, this same archbishop was struck down by a protracted paralytic illness, and lay ill for a long time in the monastery of Saint Benedict.

But while he was still alive another archbishop was chosen in his place, one Absalom,² a Hungarian. He in turn died, and a third was chosen, Peter Lombard.³ Peter went to pay Gaudius a visit, and when he saw that he still wore the episcopal ring on his finger, he reprimanded him severely over this; he then removed the ring from his finger and departed.

This Peter had at first been bishop of Narni, and was a man of great learning and distinguished by his good character and acts. He was especially learned in the science of medicine, so much so that he could look a healthy man in the face and tell in advance what kind of sickness he would succumb to, and when, or by what medical remedy he could avoid the danger of illness.

And so this man presided felicitously over the church of Salona for a number of years. Then after leaving for Hungary, he died and was buried in the church of Saint Mary in Székesfehérvár. On account of his praiseworthy life and ways his tomb was held in great veneration by the inhabitants of that region.⁴

³ Peter Lombard is mentioned as the bishop of Narni in Umbria in the letter of Pope Alexander III of 2 July 1161 by which he was appointed archbishop of Split (CD 2: 91–2).

⁴ The burial and veneration of Peter Lombard in Székesfehérvár are not otherwise attested by other sources.

XX. DE EPISCOPATU FARENSI

Interea vacante ecclesia Iaderensi tres eiusdem ecclesie clerici ad pontificatus honorem certatim aspirabant, videlicet Lampredius Marichne, Petrus Camasii¹ et Martinus Manzavini. Comes vero civitatis erat eo tempore Petrana.² Hic cepit fovere partem Lampredii sperans se cum eo suavius vivere, eo quod nec ipse per se superbus nec erat de superbo sanguine procreatus. Tandem Lampredius iste Iaderensis episcopus est effectus.³

Iste primus sub patriarcha Gradensi pallium obtinuit ab Anastasio papa⁴ anno Domini millesimo CXLV. Erat eo tempore quidam Lucarus filius Duimi Cicle archidiaconus ecclesie Spalatensis.⁵ Hic dolens quod Iaderenses a Salonitana metropoli se eximere laborabant, petiit a clero et populo consilium et expensas promittens se in persona propria ad sedem apostolicam accessurum et privilegium Salonitane ecclesie contra Iaderensium molimina allegaturum. Sed tanta erat invidia contra archidiaconum supradictum ut non acquiescerent dictis eius, immo absque omni pudore in faciem ei responderunt dicentes: «Nolumus, quod aliquid boni per te lucretur ecclesia Spalatensis.» Ad hanc responsionem perturbatus archidiaconus siluit nec de facto huiusmodi se ulterius intromisit. Et quia tunc vacabat archiepiscopo ecclesia Spalatensis, facile Iaderenses sine contradictore potuerunt exemptionem sue ecclesie optinere.

¹ Lampredius son of Marihna and Peter son of Camasius are mentioned as clerics of Zadar in a document of 1134 (CD 2: 44–5).

² Count Petrana (Peter) of Zadar is mentioned in documents from 1134 to 1164 (CD 2: 44–5, 61, 100).

³ Lampredius is mentioned with the title of archbishop of Zadar in 1146 (CD 2: 60).

⁴ The year 1145 is wrong, and Thomas has conflated several events in one. Pope Anastasius (1153–4) gave the *pallium* to Lampredius by his bull of 17 October 1154 and ordered the bishoprics of Krk, Osor, Rab and Hvar to be its suffragans (CD 2: 76–9). Afterwards, after the death of Pope Anastasius

20 THE BISHOPRIC OF HVAR

Meanwhile, the church of Zadar fell vacant, and three clerics of that church were vying for the episcopal dignity, namely Lampredius son of Marihna, Peter son of Camasius,¹ and Martin son of Manzavinus. The count of the city at that time was Petrana.² Petrana favored Lampredius; he believed that life with him would be relatively agreeable, because Lampredius was not a haughty man himself, nor was he of haughty stock. In the event, Lampredius was made bishop of Zadar.³

He obtained the *pallium* subject to the patriarchate of Grado from Pope Anastasius⁴ in the year of our Lord 1145. At that time a certain Lucarus, son of Duimus, son of Cicla, was archdeacon of Split.⁵ He was distressed because the Zaratins at that time were working to exempt themselves from the metropolitan authority of Salona. So he asked the clergy and people for advice and contributions, promising that he would go in person to the Holy See and maintain the privilege of the church of Salona against the designs of the Zaratins. But so great was the ill will against the archdeacon that they would not agree to his proposal. Indeed, without the least shame they said to his face, "We have no wish that the church of Split should acquire anything of value through you." Shaken at this reply, the archdeacon said nothing and did not further intervene in this affair. At that time the church of Split lacked an archbishop, so the Zaratins were easily able to obtain exemption for their church with no one objecting.

and during the pontificate of Adrian IV (1154–9), the new archdiocese was subjected to the Patriarchate of Grado, but under the condition that the title of archbishop of Zadar should be received directly from the pope and not from the patriarch (CD 2: 79–84).

⁵ This person is not known from any other source.

Istis vero temporibus, sicut ab antiquo, insule Faron et Bratia erant dioceses¹ ecclesie Spalatensis. Archipresbiter vero erat in eis quidam Cernata² sacerdos capellanus de Spalato. Predicti autem clerici, qui ad episcopatum anhelaverant, ceperunt inimicari comiti ob favorem Lampredii. Qui volens eos sibi pacatos efficere uni consensit episcopatum Apsarensem,³ quem cum duobus aliis episcopatibus, scilicet Vegliensi et Arbensi a subiectione Spalatine ecclesie subtraxerat. Martinum⁴ vero fecit eligi ab insulanis,⁵ expulso archipresbitero ecclesie Spalatensis,⁶ nam comes predictus cum Venetis earundem occupaverat dominium insularum. Et quamvis Martinus potestate Iaderensis comitis fuisset electus, noluit tamen Iadere consecrari, sed profectus Ragusium consecrationem suscepit ab Andrea archiepiscopo Ragusino⁷ et ab episcopis Dulcinensi et Suacensi. Et nullam subiectionem faciebat Iaderensi ecclesie, sed Spalatensi debitam reverentiam exhibebat quandoque.⁸

Vacante autem tunc temporis ecclesia Spalatensi quidam cardinalis, vir magne auctoritatis et eximie honestatis, per totum regnum Hungarie legationibus officio fungebatur.⁹ Hic cum non modicam fecisset moram Spalati residendo, effectus erat

¹ Thomas is here apparently using the term 'diocese' in the meaning of ecclesiastical district. Cf. n. 4, p. 67 above.

² A certain Crnota styled as *presbyter* is mentioned in several Spalatin documents of the 1130s and 1140s as a very distinguished person (CD II, 45, 46, 60).

³ That is, Peter son of Camasius. He is not mentioned in extant documents as bishop of Osor.

⁴ The first bishop of Hvar was the aforementioned Martin son of Manzavinus. See below, n. 3, p. 120.

⁵ That is, the denizens of Hvar and Brač.

⁶ The bishopric of Hvar, consisting of the islands of Hvar, Brač and Vis, was apparently created in 1147, after Count Petrana of Zadar occupied the islands for Venice and appointed there as his deputy (*župan*) a certain Hvališa (CD 2: 61–62). However, this date has recently been debated. See Slavko Kovačić, "Koje je godine osnovana hvarska biskupija?" [In what year was the bishopric of Hvar established?], *Croatica Christiana Periodica* 15 (1991), 27:

In those days the islands of Hvar and Brač were dioceses¹ of the church of Split, as they had been from Antiquity. The archpriest of those islands was a certain priest Crnota,² assistant priest and chaplain from Split. Now the aforesaid clerics who had aspired to the episcopal office became hostile to the count on account of his support of Lampredius. Wishing to win them over, the count agreed for one of them, Peter, to have the bishopric of Osor,³ which together with two other bishoprics, namely Krk and Rab, had been removed from subjection to the church of Split, and the count had the other, Martin,⁴ be elected by the islanders⁵ after ejecting the archpresbyter of the church of Split.⁶ For the count had seized power in those islands with the support of the Venetians. Although Martin had been elected through the power of the count of Zadar, he did not wish to be consecrated at Zadar. Instead he proceeded to Dubrovnik and received consecration from Andrew, the archbishop of Dubrovnik,⁷ and the bishops of Ulcinj and Svač. He made no submission to the church of Zadar, but always showed due reverence to the church of Split.⁸

At this time, when the church of Split was vacant, a certain cardinal, a man of great authority and exceptional integrity, held the office of legate throughout the kingdom of Hungary.⁹ He had spent some time residing in Split, and he had become an

53–8. Kovačić maintains that the establishment of the bishopric could not have happened before the archbishop of Zadar received metropolitan rights in 1154.

⁷ 1142–53.

⁸ The issue of jurisdiction over Hvar was very much on the agenda of the Roman curia, the Hungarian court, and both archbishoprics of Zadar and Split from 1181 to 1199 (CD 2: 178–9, 181, 190, 197, 244, 289–90 *et passim*).

⁹ Alberto di Morra, cardinal-deacon 1155, cardinal-priest with the title of San Lorenzo in Lucina from 1158, elected pope (as Gregory VIII) on 21 October 1187, died 17 December 1187. He was the legate of Pope Alexander III in Hungary in 1165–7.

familiaris omnibus et amicus, singulos enim pro meritis caritatis viscere confovebat. Factum est autem, ut eo tempore congregaretur clerus Spalatine ecclesie pro archiepiscopo eligendo. Et tandem premisso tractatu de electione cuiusdam in archiepiscopum, ut moris est, omnia vota in personam eiusdem cardinalis concorditer convenerunt. Itaque electionis solempnitate devote ab omnibus celebrata protinus Iohannes comes,¹ coadunata populari multitudine, sicut solet interdum laycalis ruditas, notos contempnere, ignotos appetere, certa respuere, incerta diligere, veniunt ad eundem legatum, labiis ex ira trementibus clamosisque vocibus et tunc concionari incipiunt dicentes, quod alias eum diligerent et vellent per omnia revereri, sed non consentiunt, ut eorum archiepiscopus efficiatur. Tunc subridens cardinalis benigna eos allocutione sedavit, dicens: «Viri Spalatenses, non convenit sapientibus pro nichilo concitare tumultum et quasi aliquod foret grande scelus admissum in tante seditionis scandalum tam facile prosilire. Nam super electionis facto, unde nunc turbulentis animis accessistis, oportet vos esse placatos, quia mea voluntas magis concordat vobiscum, qui non vultis, quam cum clericorum votis, qui me in suum desiderant pontificem promovere. Nec tamen propter vestras voces electionem hanc respuo, sed quia maioris apud deum meriti existimo hec esse universalis ecclesie negotia, que exequenda comporto.» Ad clerumque conversus ait: «Quia me sincero affectu diligitis, gratias refero, electionem autem vestram in alium transferatis.» Post hec cardinalis iste reversus ad curiam transactis aliquot annorum curriculum summus pontifex est effectus nomenque fuit Gregorius octavus.²

Temporibus autem domini Alexandri pape tertii³ miserunt ad eum Spalatenses clerici humiliter postulantes, ut pastorem eis

¹ John is mentioned in documents as the count of Split from 1169 to 1174 (CD 2: 125, 131, 138).

² The election of Cardinal Albert and his renunciation because of the common good of the church is confirmed by the letter of Pope Alexander III of 31 August 1167 to Albert himself (CD 2: 109–10).

intimate and a friend of all, for he cherished each man warmly according to his merits. It happened at that time that the clergy of the church of Split assembled to elect an archbishop. And after the usual preliminary proceedings that attend the election of the archbishop, at last they all agreed unanimously on the person of that same cardinal. But after the formalities of election had been devoutly celebrated by all, all at once Count John¹ appeared, having assembled a crowd of the people—it being at times the custom of ignorant lay persons to scorn the persons that they knew and to court those that they did not, to reject what was certain and to prefer the uncertain—these came to that legate, their lips trembling in anger and their voices raised in shouting. And then they began to harangue him, saying that they loved him in other respects and would respect him in all things, but they would not agree to his being made their archbishop. At this the cardinal smiled and calmed them with a good-humored reply. “Men of Split,” he said, “It is not proper for wise men to cause a commotion over nothing and, as if some great crime had been committed, to hasten to riot and scandal. As for the matter that brings you here in such agitation, you can set your minds at rest; because my own inclination is in harmony rather with you, who are so opposed, than with the wishes of the clergy, who have wanted to advance me to be their bishop. Yet for all that I do not refuse this election on account of your voices, but because I think that in the eyes of God the greater merit lies in the business of the universal church, for which I bear the responsibility.” Then turning to the clergy he said, “For the sincere love and affection that you have shown me I thank you, but please choose another in my place.” Thereafter the cardinal returned to the Curia, and after some years had passed, he became supreme pontiff, under the name of Gregory VIII.²

In the time of Pope Alexander III,³ the clergy of Split sent to him humbly requesting that he see fit to grant them a bishop

³ Pope Alexander III (1159–81).

concedere dignaretur. Qui eorum petitioni benigne annuens direxit eis Girardum¹ patria Veronensem et curie capellanum. Qui ab eodem summo pontifice consecratus valde honeste decenterque accessit ad regimen ecclesie Spalatensis.

Eo tempore Spalatenses et tota pene Dalmatia subiecerunt se Constantinopolitano imperio.² Quam ob rem Spalatini cives ceperunt rogare Girardum archiepiscopum, ut ad urbem regiam proficiscens fidem pro se et pro civibus imperatorie celsitudini iureiurando firmaret. Sed cum nollet acquiescere propter papale mandatum civesque instando quasi vim facerent, venerabilis Girardus ad Alexandrum papam se contulit, petens ab eo consilium, quid super facto huiusmodi sibi foret agendum. Dominus vero papa ipsius indebite molestationi compatiens, prefecit eum ecclesie Sypontine retenta nichilominus administratione ecclesie Spalatine.

Fuit autem his fere temporibus quidam Chrovatorum dux, nomine Reles,³ vir potens et ferox nimis. Hic quia Spalatensi civitati preesse ardentissime cupiebat, cives eius nunc promissis sollicitans, nunc minis terrens laborabat multifarie, ut se assumerent in rectorem. Sed Spalatenses nullatenus flectebantur, detestantes prorsus regimen viri Sclavigene experiri. Tunc dux ipse cepit palam aggredi civitatem, bellum inferens valde durum ita, ut usque ad muros armatis equitum cuneis appropinquans, multas hominum et animalium predas agebat. Spalatenses vero exire contra tantam armatorum multitudinem non presumentes,

¹ Gerald is mentioned as archbishop from the end of 1167 to 1171 (CD 2: 117–8, 122–3, 128–9).

² Split, together with most of Dalmatia and Croatia, came under the rule of Emperor Manuel I Comnenos (1143–80) from 1165 to 1167 and remained so until the emperor's death. For details of Byzantine rule in Croatia, see the articles by Ivo Goldstein ("Byzantine Rule in Dalmatia in the 12th Century," pp. 97–125) and Paul Stephenson ("Political Authority in Dalmatia during the Reign of Manuel I Comnenus," pp. 127–50) in Günter Prinzing and Maciej Salamon (eds.), *Byzanz und Ostmitteleuropa 950–1453*, Mainzer Veröffentlichungen zur Byzantinistik 3 (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1999); on

as pastor. Graciously granting their request, the pope gave to them Gerald,¹ a native of Verona and chaplain of the Curia. Having been consecrated by the pope himself, he took up office and governed the church of Split with great integrity and propriety.

At that time Split and almost the whole of Dalmatia were subject to the Byzantine Empire.² Therefore the citizens of Split decided to ask Archbishop Gerald to set out for the royal city and pledge fealty to the emperor in his own name and on behalf of the citizens of Split. The archbishop was unwilling to comply because of the papal injunction, but the people pressed him almost to the point of violence. So the venerable Gerald turned to Pope Alexander to ask his advice as to what he should do in this matter. The pope, sympathizing over this unwarranted vexation, appointed him head of the church of Siponto, although he still retained the administration of the church of Split.

Around the same time there was a leader of the Croats named Relja,³ a powerful and very warlike man. He passionately desired to rule over the city of Split, and tried in many different ways to persuade the citizens to accept him as governor, now tempting them with promises, now frightening them with threats. But the Spalatins were not in the least swayed, for they loathed the very notion of being ruled over by a Slav. Thereupon this man began openly attacking the city, waging a very harsh war; he would ride up to the walls of the city with squads of armed cavalry and drive off great numbers of people and animals as booty. For their part the Spalatins did not dare to march out

the wider political context, see Ferenc Makk, *Árpáds and the Comneni. Political Relations between Hungary and Byzantium in the 12th Century* (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1989).

³ This episode is not corroborated by other sources. He might have been a commander of the Hungarian army during the war between Hungary and Byzantium in 1166. For more, see MMS, pp. 423–5.

sese intra menia tuebantur; aliquotiens vero clanculo exeuntes, hostibus ut poterant, offendebant. Factum est autem, ut tempore quodam dux Reles coadunato grandi exercitu castra posuit e regione civitatis, cepitque succidere vineas et arbores quasque fructiferas detruncare. Tunc Spalatenses tristes et gemebundi sua dampna eminus inspectantes miserunt ad ducem nuntios verbis pacificis postulantes, ut a tanta Spalatensium vexatione cessaret, et cum eis amicabilem de pacis compositione tractaret. Ipse autem, ut erat perverse mentis homo multoque intumesceret superbie fastu, talia nuntiis verba respondit: «Non cessabo, donec omnia vineta vestra ita prosternam, ut tantum vini non inferatur in civitatem, quantum poni possit in calice ad ministerium unius misse». Reversi autem nuntii retulerunt civibus tristia ducis responsa. At illi suspicientes ad celum dixerunt: «Deus omnipotens, superbie detestator, contere illorum arrogantiam nostramque afflictionem, quam ab eis iniuste patimur, misericorditer intueri». Modico autem dierum transacto spatium et ecce dux ipse, ut erat solitus, venit cum magno armorum strepitu et appropians usque ad menia civitatis insultansque armis et vocibus, cives anxios et tremebundos ad prelium provocabat. Mox autem quidam audacie spiritus incallescere cepit cordibus Latinorum et arreptis subito armis per portas constipatim errumpunt et divinum invocantes auxilium binas acies instruunt. Tunc duobus probioribus duo dantes vexilla preceperunt omnibus armatis, ut altera pars unum, altera vexillum alterum sequeretur. Hortantesque se ad invicem protinus se hostibus ostenderunt. Videntes autem Sclavi ex insolito Latinos ex suis latebris exisse multum leti effecti, statim ad eos aties dirigunt. Nostri vero, ut erant premoniti, una pars paulatim hostibus a facie appropinquant; altera vero pars a tergo girantes ex insidiis

against such a great number of armed men. They stayed within the protection of the walls, now and then venturing out in secret to do what harm that they could to the enemy. Now it came about at one time that Lord Relja gathered a large host, pitched camp facing the city and began demolishing the vineyards and cutting down all the fruit-trees. Then the Spalatins, distressed and groaning as they watched from afar the destruction of their property, sent messengers to the lord requesting in peaceable tones that he cease from causing the Spalatins such harm, and that he discuss with them in a friendly way the matter of arranging a peace. But being a man of perverse mind and greatly swollen with pride and conceit, he gave the messengers the following answer: "I shall continue to cut down your vineyards, until you will not be able to bring enough wine into the city to fill the chalice for a single mass." The messengers returned to their fellow citizens bearing the lord's grim response. But the people raised their eyes to heaven and said, "Almighty God, You who hate pride, crush the arrogance of these men, and look with mercy upon the affliction that we endure unjustly at their hands." Only a few days passed before the lord himself, as was his custom, came with a loud clashing of arms right up to the walls of the city, hurling abuse and casting clouts at the fearful and trembling citizens and challenging them to battle. But all at once a certain spirit of boldness began to glow in the hearts of the Latins. Seizing their weapons forthwith, they burst out through the gates in a dense body, and invoking the help of God they arrayed themselves in two lines of battle. Then they gave two banners to two more experienced leaders, and instructed all the men in arms that one group should follow one banner and the other the second. Urging each other onward, they immediately showed themselves to the enemy. The Slavs were delighted to see the Latins emerging from their hiding places, contrary to custom, and at once turned their line of troops towards them. But our men did as they had been instructed beforehand. One line approached the enemy at a slow pace from the front; but the line behind turned off and hid in

speculantur. Tunc conserentes inter se manus ceperunt fortiter preliari. Subito autem hi, qui erant in insidiis, prodeuntes ad auxilium suorum accurrunt. At vero senes per plateam oberantes supplices manus tendebant ad celum, mulieres vero pueri et puellae prospicientes per muros, ingenti pavore animis palpitabant. Sacerdotes et claustrales in ecclesiis prostrati divinum adiutorium implorabant. Et ecce nutu dei dux ipse superbus primus iaculo cecidit. Et statim dissolute sunt aties eorum et coram nostrorum gladiis fugientes passim per campos prostrati sunt corruique multitudo ex ipsis. Tunc Spalatenses de suis hostibus patrata victoria cum gaudio redeuntes amputaverunt caput ipsius nequissimi ducis et in posturio suspenderunt.¹ Et sic pestis illa quievit.

XXI. DE RAYNERIO ARCHIEPISCOPO²

Mortuo tandem bone memorie Girardo archiepiscopo³ in hoc totius ecclesie Spalatine resedit consilium, ut neminem eligerent, sed a sede apostolica pastorem ydoneum postularent. Tunc miserunt legatos suos ad curiam, sacerdotem quendam Ionium sacristam et quendam alium. Qui accedentes ad pedes domini Alexandri pape petitionem Spalatensis ecclesie humiliter porrexerunt.

Erat autem tunc temporis magna controversia inter clericos Callenses⁴ Tuscie civitatis⁵ ex una parte et Raynerium eorum episcopum⁶ ex parte altera super quibusdam iuribus ecclesie ipsorum, steterantque ambe partes diu in curia implacabiliter litigantes. Cumque non posset inter eos tumultus huius discordia mitigari, dominus papa hanc viam invenire voluit fomitem

¹ Pistura Square (*Posturio*, *Postures*, *Pistorium*) is one of the great open market squares outside the walls of Split. It is still in use today.

² Also known as Arnir (the old Croatian form of this name in Split). Under this name he was later venerated there as a saint. See below, n. 1, p. 126.

³ Around 1175.

ambush, waiting. The two sides then closed and began fighting fiercely hand to hand. Then suddenly the men lying in ambush burst out and hurried to the aid of their comrades. Meanwhile in the city the old men were pacing up and down the streets, stretching out their arms to heaven in entreaty; the women, boys and girls watched along the walls, their hearts quaking with terror. The priests and monks had prostrated themselves in the churches and were beseeching divine assistance. And behold, by the will of God, the arrogant lord himself was the first to fall by a spear. Forthwith their ranks broke. They fled before our swords and were cut down everywhere through the fields; a huge number of them perished. Then the Spalatins returned with joy, victorious over their enemies, and they cut off the head of that most wicked lord and hung it in Pistura Square.¹ And thus was that scourge laid to rest.

21 ARCHBISHOP RAINER²

After Archbishop Gerald of blessed memory died,³ a decision was settled upon by the whole church of Split not to elect anyone but to request a suitable pastor from the Holy See. So they sent their envoys to the Curia, a certain priest Jonius the sacristan, and one other. They approached the feet of Pope Alexander and humbly tendered the petition of the church of Split.

Now at that time there was a great dispute between the clergy of Cagli,⁴ a city in Tuscany,⁵ on the one hand, and Rainer their bishop,⁶ on the other, about certain rights of their church; both parties had remained at the Curia for a long time, locked in implacable litigation. Since it proved impossible to settle this turbulent quarrel between them, the pope wished to find a ben-

⁴ Cagli (Lat. *Callium*, *Callis*) in Marche.

⁵ Thomas is apparently using the name of Tuscany for the whole of central Italy, and not for the Italian region of the same name.

⁶ Rainer was bishop of Cagli from 1156 to 1175.

tanti rancoris utiliter extinguendi. Itaque absolvit Raynerium ab administrationis vinculo, quo Callensi ecclesie fuerat alligatus et quia sciebat, eum virum valde habilem regimini pastoralis, vocatis ecclesie Spalatine nuntiis, dedit ipsum illis in patrem et pastorem sue ecclesie deducendum. Tunc clerici Callenses, licet ipsum odiis et vexationibus persecuti fuissent, multum tamen tristes de amisso pastore effecti ad propria sunt reversi.

Raynerius¹ autem suscepto dignitatis pallio gaudens et letus cum nostris nuntiis iter arripuit veniendi. Descenderunt ergo Ravennam. Habebat autem Raynerius archiepiscopus vasa argentea non modica, pecuniam et indumenta pontificalia pretiosa. Cum autem timerent in mari latrocinia piratarum, noluerunt predictas opes secum in navi portare, sed includens eas archiepiscopus in quodam dolio recommendavit servandas apud sancte Marie monasterium de portu Ravennate,² mandans ut nulli hominum illud depositum traderetur, nisi ad manus cuiusdam servientis sui, quem eis presentem ostendit. Tunc conscendentes navem profecti sunt.

Cum autem pervenissent ad civitatem, cum magno tripudio cleri populique susceptus est. Cepit autem ecclesiam multa prudentia gubernare, emendare clericos, populum instruere salubribus documentis, facultates ecclesie vigilanti studio ampliare.

Sed nunc ad Martinum episcopum insularum redeundum est. Hic cum esset senex, quadam valitudine comprehensus, quasi amens effectus erat. Insulani vero eius amentiam non ferentes, expulerunt eum³ et accedentes ad ecclesiam Spalatensem elege-

¹ Rainer is mentioned for the first time as the archbishop of Split in 1175 (CD 2: 140).

² The monastery of S. Maria in Porto Fuori, established around 1100, situated a few kilometers from Classe on the road to Venice.

³ On the accuracy of Thomas' report there testifies a letter of Pope Alexander III to the men of Hvar in which he ordered them to care for their bishop in his old age, as they did while he was young (CD 2: 121).

eficial way to still this protracted enmity. And so he released Rainer from the bonds of administration, which bound him to the church of Cagli, and because he knew him to be a man with a great talent for pastoral administration, he called the messengers from the church of Split and presented Rainer to them to take to Split as father and pastor of their church. Thereupon the clerics of Cagli, although they had proceeded against him with rancor and molestation, returned home greatly saddened by the loss of their pastor.

Rainer,¹ on the other hand, was delighted to receive the *pallium* of his new office, and cheerfully set out on the journey here, to Split with our envoys. So they went down to Ravenna. Archbishop Rainer had a considerable amount of silver plate, money and costly pontifical vestments. But they did not want to transport these valuables with them on the ship for fear of being robbed at sea by pirates. So instead, the archbishop had all these things placed in a cask and entrusted them to the safekeeping of the monastery of Saint Mary at the port of Ravenna.² He gave instructions that what had been left for safekeeping was not to be handed over other than directly into the hands of his own servant—and he pointed this man out to them. Thereupon they embarked on the ship and set sail.

When they arrived at the city, the archbishop was received with great jubilation by the clergy and the people. He embarked on the administration of the church with great wisdom, improving the clergy, teaching the people with wholesome lessons, and increasing the resources of the church by his assiduous efforts.

But now we must return to Martin, the bishop of the Islands. Now that he was old, he was seized by some strange infirmity, which left him more or less deprived of his wits. The islanders, however, would not tolerate him in this state of madness, and drove him out;³ then they went to the church of Split and

runt Lucarum,¹ filium Duimi Cicle, archidiaconum eiusdem ecclesie. Qui presentatus Raynerio archiepiscopo consecratus est ab eodem.

Per idem fere tempus dominus Alexander papa tempore scismatis² navigavit ab Apulia et venit ad insulam Lissam.³ Statim autem, ut presensit Raynerius archiepiscopus preparatis navibus multis cum magno comitatu cleri et nobilium civitatis venit ad eum, defferens ei cibaria et exenia multa. Temptabat rogare ipsum, ut ad Spalatensem urbem, que prope erat, divertere dignaretur, sed non acquievit papa. Festinabat enim ire Venetias ad componendum cum Frederico imperatore.⁴ Navigavit ergo inde et venit Iaderam. Fuit autem Raynerius archiepiscopus cum eo.

Tunc Martinus insularum episcopus recuperata sanitate iam compos mentis effectus, querelam domino pape de sua expulsionem et de Lucari intrusionem deposuit. Summus vero pontifex auditis et cognitis cause meritis Lucarum deposuit, Martinum vero ad suam sedem remisit.

Eo tempore Emanuhel inclite memorie apud Constantinopolim imperabat. Tota autem Dalmatia et pene Chroatia universa subiecta erat principatui eius. Ipse autem erat benignissimus circa omnes sibi subiectos, non tributorum exactor, sed divitiarum suarum liberalissimus distributor.⁵ Omnes ad se venientes honorabat, omnibus impensas ex fisco regio exhibebat.

¹ Most probably the same as "Archdeacon L." mentioned in a document from 1170 or 1171 (CD 2: 128).

² That is, the dual papacy of Alexander III and Callistus III (1168–78).

³ Pope Alexander III was on Vis on 10 March 1177. He was in Zadar on 13 March and in Venice on 24 March.

⁴ On the conflict of Pope Alexander III and Emperor Frederick I Barbarossa (1152–90), see Hubert Jedin and John Dolan (eds.), *History of the Church*, vol. 4, *From the High Middle Ages to the Eve of the Reformation*, by Hans-Georg Beck *et al.*, transl. by Anselm Biggs (Tunbridge Wells: Burns & Oates,

elected Lucarus,¹ son of Duimus son of Cicla, who was the archdeacon of that church. He was presented to Archbishop Rainer and consecrated by him.

At about the same time—which was the time of the schism²—Pope Alexander set sail from Apulia and came to the island of Vis.³ As soon as he came to know of this, Archbishop Rainer readied many ships and went to meet him with a great company of clerics and nobles from the city, bearing supplies of food and many gifts. He attempted to persuade the pope to break off his voyage and come to Split, which was nearby. But the pope declined, for he was hurrying to Venice to make peace with Emperor Frederick.⁴ He therefore set sail from the island and came to Zadar. Archbishop Rainer went with him.

In the meantime, Martin, the bishop of the Islands, had recovered from his illness and was of sound mind again. He then went to the pope and protested against his expulsion and the usurpation of his seat by Lucarus. After the supreme pontiff had heard and acknowledged the merit of his case, he had Lucarus deposed and restored Martin to his see.

At that time Manuel of glorious memory was emperor at Constantinople. The whole of Dalmatia and nearly all of Croatia were subject to his lordship. However, he was extremely generous to all those subject to him; he did not exact tribute, but dispensed his wealth in a most openhanded way.⁵ He honored all who came to him, and always reimbursed them from the royal treasury. Once, after receiving a head-count of the inhabitants

1969), pp. 57–62. On the Papacy, the Empire and northern Italy at that time, see *The New Cambridge Medieval History 4: Part II: c. 1024 – c. 1198*, ed. by David Luscombe and Jonathan Riley-Smith (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), pp. 317–441.

⁵ Emperor Manuel I Comnenos' particular generosity towards the Spalatins is not known from other sources, and nor is the visit of Archbishop Rainer to the imperial court described below.

Recepta etiam computatione capitum civitatis Spalatensis, mittebat stipendia omnibus, infantibus etiam in cuna iacentibus singulos aureos dari faciebat. Mittebat autem duces¹ suos cum magno apparatu armorum portantes pro sumptibus pecuniam copiosam. Qui veniebant et tenebant civitates maritimas et magnam Chroatie partem.

Itaque Spalatenses rogaverunt Raynerium archiepiscopum, ut pergeret Constantinopolim ad imperialem curiam visitandam. Qui gratanti animo acquiescens associatis sibi aliquot de nobilibus civitatis Constantinopolim profectus est. Ingressusque ad Emanuhelem imperatorem ipsumque ex parte suorum civium multum reverenter salutans valde honorifice ab imperatore susceptus est et quamdiu ibi mansit, satis venerabiliter impensis ex curia affluenter exhibitis procuratus est. Cum autem redeundi licentiam a principe postulasset, donavit ei munera pretiosa satis et non pauca. Sicque ad ecclesiam suam gaudens et locuples est reversus.

Fuit autem Raynerius vir valde constans et intrepidus nec patiebatur aliquid de iuribus et facultatibus ecclesie deperire. Unde factum est, ut quodam tempore iret ad montem Massarum, ut exquireret quedam predia ecclesie, que a Sclavis occupata detinebantur. Et cum faceret circuitum cum his, qui terrarum illarum habebant notitiam, ambiendo et limitando eas per suas extremitates, ecce Nicolaus quidam cum fratribus et parentela sua, qui erant ex genere Cacitorum,² de facto archiepiscopi valde dolere cepit. Et convocata populari multitudo in magno furore impetu Raynerium circumdantes exclamaverunt: «Quid tu,

¹ Byzantine imperial governors of Dalmatia and Croatia had the title of *doux* (Latinized as *duca*), with their seat in Split. See Stephenson, *Byzantium's Balkan Frontier*, pp. 264–6.

² Nicholas is mentioned as the count of Omiš (to whom the area of Mount Mosor belonged) in 1167 (CD 2: 116). He belonged to the Kačić kindred, the members of which after Nicholas held the position of count in Omiš and the surrounding areas (see also below, ch. 35) until the 1280s, when this area

of the city of Split, he sent a gratuity to every single person; he even gave one gold piece each to babies still in their cradles! Moreover, he sent out his *doukes*¹ with a vast supply of weapons and carrying ample money for their expenses when they came and held the coastal cities and the greater part of Croatia.

And so the people of Split urged Archbishop Rainer to proceed to Constantinople and to visit the imperial court. He assented with pleasure, and taking with him a number of the important men of Split he set out for Constantinople. When he had entered into the emperor's presence he greeted him with deep respect on behalf of his fellow citizens, and was received with great honor by the emperor; as long as he remained there he was lavishly and honorably provided for at the expense of the court. And when he sought permission from the emperor to return, the emperor gave him gifts both many and precious. And so he returned to his church, happy and enriched.

Moreover, Rainer was a very firm and fearless man, and he did not permit any of the rights and resources of the church to be lost. So it came about at one time that he went to Mount Mosor, to inquire into some estates of the church that had been seized by Slavs and were being held by them. While he was making a survey with men who had knowledge of these lands, going around them and determining their boundaries, behold, a certain Nicholas, with his brothers and relatives of the Kačić kindred,² became very aggrieved at what the archbishop was doing. They called together a crowd of their people, and in a furious rage they surrounded Rainer and shouted, "You wicked

came under the rule of the Šubići. Thomas' report of the conflict of the archbishopric of Split with the Kačići for the estates is corroborated by a letter of Emperor Manuel I from the beginning of 1180 ordering *Doukas* Rogerius to force the occupiers of the church land (in the first place the Kačići) to give them back (CD 2: 165).

pessime presul et inique, contra nos agere conaris? Numquid putas posse nos eicere de possessionibus territorii patrum et antecessorum nostrorum? Nisi incontinenti recedas, hic, hic dies vite tue ultimus erit.» Raynerius autem, ut erat constantissimus, nil eorum minis perterritus, libera et intensa satis voce respondit dicens: «Non vestrum est territorium, ut asseritis, sed possessio ecclesie beati Domnii, a vobis hactenus usurpata.» Ad hanc vocem omnis multitudo Sclavorum arreptis lapidibus in eum unanimiter proiecerunt tam diu dextris furrentibus debachantes, donec exanime corpus sub magno acervo lapidum dimitterent et abirent.

Viri autem illi, qui presulem fuerant comitati, videntes Sclavorum rabiem in eius fore mortem succensam,¹ cucurrerunt ad civitatem tantum malum civibus nuntiantes. Cives autem subitaneo rumore attoniti repente ad arma concurrunt. Et alii quidem per mare, alii per terram ad montem Crassum, ubi scelus perpetratum fuerat, venire accelerant properanter. Vt autem pervenerunt ad locum, ecce pontifex miserandus sub illa lapidum congerie quasi tumulatus iacebat, hostes omnes recesserant. Tunc extrahentes eum navique extincta imponentes membra cum magno luctu et merore ad civitatem duxerunt. Clerus autem preparatis de more solempnibus exequiis una cum populo extulerunt corpus pontificis et sepelierunt eum in ecclesia sancti Benedicti.²

Erat autem eo tempore sacerdos quidam, nomine Micha. Hic, cum de suis excessibus a predicto antistite sepe argueretur, in magnum exarserat odium contra eum. Non enim erat homo, qui de correctione proficeret in melius, sed qui deficeret in deterius. Hic ergo videns, quod mortuus erat insectator vitiorum

¹ Rainer's martyrdom was later made into the foundation of his cult, particularly since the sixteenth century. His official *vita* was compiled in vernacular in the late fifteenth century on the basis of Thomas' account (*Život svetoga Arnira arcibiskupa splitskoga i mučenika Isukarstova* [The Life of St. Rainer, archbishop of Split and martyr of Jesus Christ]); see "Život svetoga Arnira," ed. by Cvito Fisković, in Gligo-Morović, *Legende* (as n. 7, p. 7 above) pp. 123–47.

and unjust bishop! What are you trying to do to us? Do you think that you can drive us from the lands and possessions of our fathers and forefathers? Unless you withdraw immediately, this day, I tell you, will be the last day of your life!" But Rainer, being as he was a most steadfast man, was not in the least frightened of them and their threats. In a bold and loud voice, he answered, saying, "These are not your lands, as you assert, but the property of the church of Saint Domnius, which you have usurped up till now." At these words, the whole crowd of Slavs snatched up stones and flung them at him altogether, pelting him in full fury until they left his lifeless body under a great pile of stones; then they went off.

Meanwhile, those men who had accompanied the bishop, when they saw that the Slavs' rage had driven them to kill the archbishop,¹ ran to the city to tell the people of this terrible deed. The citizens were astonished by this sudden news, but swiftly rushed to arms; some by sea, others by land raced with all speed to reach the place of Mutogras where the crime had been committed. But when they came to the spot, behold, the pitiable archbishop lay as if buried under that pile of stones, and the enemy had all departed. They freed his body, and placing his lifeless limbs on a ship, they brought him to the city with great grief and mourning. The clergy prepared the customary obsequies, and together with the people they accompanied the body of the bishop in procession to the church of Saint Benedict and there laid him to rest.²

Now there was at that time a certain priest named Micha. He had often been rebuked for his transgressions by the aforementioned archbishop, and became inflamed with a great hatred for him. For he was not a man who benefited from correction, but one who only became worse. When he saw that the censurer

² The church of St. Benedict was the church of the Benedictine nunnery of the same name. Both the church and the nunnery were later renamed St. Rainer's.

suorum, letus effectus est. Et quasi insultans morti eius, dixit quibusdam complicibus suis: «Date mihi potum aque, ut possim dicere, quia superstes sum illi maligno presuli, qui me quiescere non sinebat.» Et cum datam aquam ex voto bibisset, ita quasi miraculose contigit, ac si venenum pro aqua illa bibisset, statim se iecit in lectum, a quo numquam surrexit, sed paulo post vita decessit.

Spalatenses autem facta inquisitione de interfectoribus archiepiscopi, aliquos invenerunt, quos statim patibulis suspende-
runt. Sed Deus omnipotens non diu permisit tam nefarium scelus sine manifesta ultione manere, nam quotquot in effusionem innocentis sanguinis impias extenderunt manus, post modicum tempus alii fame, alii gladio, alii peste cum sua posteritate consumpti sunt. Obiit autem venerabilis Raynerius secundo nonas Augusti¹ anno Domini millesimo centesimo octogesimo. Prefuit vero ecclesie annis quinque.

Post cuius decessum Spalatenses rogaverunt servientem eius, quatenus Ravennam pergeret depositumque archiepiscopi ad ecclesiam Spalatensem deferret. Ipse autem, cum esset fidelis et bonus, acquievit civibus. Et preparato navigio perrexit Ravennam. Miserunt autem cum ipso quendam clericum, nomine Raddam Marule.² Tunc ostenderunt depositariis quedam intersignia archiepiscopi. Et quia ille idem erat, ad cuius manus depositum illud iusserat archiepiscopus tradi, reddiderunt totum illud dolium, in quo fuerant opes ille recluse. Receptis vero omnibus reversi sunt. De rebus itaque illis quedam ecclesie date sunt, de aliis fecit communitas voluntatem suam.

¹ 4 August.

of his faults was dead, he was filled with joy. And, as if taunting the dead man, he said to some of his accomplices, "Give me a drink of water, so that I can say that I have outlived that evil-minded bishop, who would not let me rest." And when he had drunk the water for which he had asked, it happened as if miraculously as if he had drunk poison instead of the water; at once he took to his bed and never rose from it again, but shortly afterwards died.

The men of Split made an investigation into those who had murdered the archbishop. On discovering some of them, they hung them forthwith on the gallows. But Almighty God did not long permit so heinous a crime to remain without manifest retribution. For of all those who had stretched out their wicked hands in the shedding of innocent blood, after no great time had passed, some perished by famine, some by the sword, and others by pestilence, along with their posterity. The venerable Rainer died on the day before the nones of August¹ in the year 1180. He had been the head of the church for five years.

After his death the Spalatins asked his servant to go to Ravenna to bring what the archbishop had left to the church of Split. Since he was an honest and loyal man, he agreed to the citizens' request, and when a ship was ready he proceeded to Ravenna. They also sent with him a cleric named Rade son of Marula.² There they showed to the trustees of the deposit certain tokens from the archbishop. And since he was the same man that the archbishop had left instructions that the deposit was to be handed over to, the trustees gave him the entire cask in which the valuables had been stored. When they had received everything they went back to Split. And then of these things some were given to the church, while others the community disposed of as they saw fit.

² The priest Rade son of Marula is mentioned as a witness in a charter from Split of 1184 (CD 2: 191).

XXII. DE PETRO ET ALTERO PETRO ARCHIEPISCOPIS

Post mortem vero Hemanuelis imperatoris,¹ cum redissent Spalatenses ad dominium Hungarorum, electio facta est de quodam Petro Hungaro, filio Chitilen, qui erat nobili genere ortus. Cum ergo consecrationis munus fuisset adeptus, primo pontificatus sui anno convocavit universos episcopos suffraganeos suos,² abbates etiam, et omnes ecclesie personatus habentes cum universo clero. Et celebravit provincialem synodum in basilica sancti Andree, que dicitur picta.³ In hac synodo multa bona fuerunt statuta. Tunc limitate fuerunt dioceses cuiuslibet episcopatus. Corbavia, cum esset parochia ecclesie Spalatensis, voluit eam archiepiscopus sibi detrahere et in ea episcopatum facere metropoli Spalatine subiectum. Quod et factum est. Nam ex voluntate cleri illius provincie, qui ad synodum venerant, ordinatus est primus episcopus Corbavie Matheus Maurute, canonicus ecclesie sancti Domnii, iuvenis quidem etate, sed honeste conversationis et sobrie vite.⁴ Denique peracto synodali conventu quecumque ibi statuta fuerunt, apostolicis sunt auribus intimata. Dominus vero papa⁵ aprobans universa, pondus auctoritatis Romane ecclesie eis imprimens, confirmavit.

Igitur Petrus archiepiscopus modum pontificalis acrimonie paulisper excedens, cepit cum canonicis ecclesie sue contenti-

¹ Emperor Manuel I Comnenos died on 24 September 1180.

² His parentage is not known. He presided over the synod of 1185, at which the organization of the Split metropolis was defined, after the establishment of the archbishopric of Zadar (CD 2: 192–4).

³ The church of St. Andrew was a part of the archiepiscopal complex within the palace and was demolished in the fifteenth century. Excavations have unearthed remnants of a palaeochristian basilica and medieval finds there. The locality is mentioned in several documents since the fifteenth century as *Ad basilicas pictas*: see references in Frane Buškariol, “Marginalija uz crkvu svetog Andrije u Splitu” [Marginal notes regarding the church of St. Andrew in Split], *Kulturna baština* 17 (1987): 39–40. For the church, see Franko Oreb,

22 PETER THE ARCHBISHOP AND HIS NAMESAKE

After the death of Emperor Manuel,¹ when the Spalatins had returned to Hungarian lordship, a certain Peter of Hungary was elected as archbishop, the son of Chitilen, a man of noble family. When he had received the gift of consecration as archbishop, in his first year of office he summoned all his suffragan bishops,² and also the abbots and all dignitaries of the church, together with all the clergy, and he held a provincial synod in the basilica of Saint Andrew, which is called "The Painted One."³ At this synod many worthy things were enacted. At that time the diocesan boundaries were fixed for each bishopric. The archbishop wished to detach Krbava, which was a parish of the church of Split, from the aforesaid church, and make it a bishopric subject to the metropolitan see of Split. This was duly done. Then, according to the wishes of the clergy of that province who had come to the synod, Matthew son of Mauruta, a canon of the church of Saint Domnius, was ordained the first bishop of Krbava. He was a young man, but upright in his dealings, and of sober life.⁴ When at last the synodal assembly had been concluded, everything that had been enacted was made known to the pope. The pope⁵ thereupon approved and confirmed everything, bestowing upon it the authority of the Roman church.

Then Archbishop Peter somewhat overstepped the bounds of episcopal zeal, and became involved in contention with his can-

Tajma Rismondo, Marin Topić, *et al.*, *Ad basilicas pictas* (Split: Ministarstvo kulture, Uprava za zaštitu kulturne baštine, Konzervatorski odjel, 1999).

⁴ In the acts of the synod, its first bishop Matthew is mentioned as *electus* (CD 2: 194). For the meaning of the term 'parish', see above, n. 4, p. 67.

⁵ The synod was held during the pontificate of Lucius III (1181–5) and its canons were confirmed by Pope Urban III (1185–7). See CD 2: 202–4.

ose agere. Volebat enim quedam iura eorum infringere propter quod ambe partes multum exasperate ad Romanam se curiam contulerunt. Cumque causam huiusmodi apostolico conspectui presentassent, quidam de cardinalibus auditor partibus datus fuit. Ventilatis ergo questionibus utrorumque pax et compositio inter ipsos reformata est¹ et sic ad propria sunt reversi.

Post modicum vero temporis Petrus archiepiscopus in Hungariam profectus, nescio qua causa, ad archiepiscopatum Colonicensis ecclesie translatus est. Prefuit autem ecclesie Spalatine annis duobus.² Huic successit alter Petrus abbas sancti Martini de Pannonia vixitque in pontificatu Spalatine sedis annis quinque.³

His temporibus defuncto Martino insularum episcopo Nicolaus Manzavini,⁴ nepos eius, ambitionis ardore succensus, tantum sollicitaverat insulanos, quod ab eis in episcopum est electus. Presentatus ergo Spalatensi archiepiscopo manus consecrationis sibi postulabat imponi, archipresul vero eius devitans versutias, sciens eum callidum et dolosum, minime admittebat. Tandem instantia civium superatus, promisit se die dominica, que crastino futura erat, eorum satisfacere voluntati. Nicolaus vero, indigne ferens dillationem archiepiscopi, ipsa nocte iter arripens, perexit Veronam ibique dominum papa Lucium quibusdam machinationibus circumveniens consecrationem ab eo petiit et accepit.⁵

¹ The conflict, in fact, happened around 1196 during the pontificate of the second Peter, the successor of Peter son of Chitilen, and was resolved by Pope Celestine III (1191–8) (CD 2: 278–9).

² Peter son of Chitilen is mentioned for the last time as the archbishop of Split in 1189 (CD 2: 240–1). He was the archbishop of Kalocsa (1190–2).

³ The second Peter is mentioned as archbishop of Split from 1191/2 to 1196 (CD 2: 250–1, 253, 257–8, 263–4, 269–70, 278). Pope Clement III in a letter of 11 March 1189 referred to him as abbot; see László Erdélyi, *A Pannónhalmi Főapátság története* [History of the archabbey of Pannonhalma], vol. 1

ons; the reason was that he wanted to infringe upon certain of their rights. Both parties became greatly heated over this matter and appealed to the Roman curia. When the case had been presented before the pope, one of the cardinals was appointed as auditor for the parties. When the disputed points on both sides had been aired, peace and agreement were restored between them.¹ And so they returned home.

Shortly afterwards, Archbishop Peter went to Hungary, and—for what reason I know not—he was translated to the archbishopric of Kalocsa. He was bishop of the church of Split for two years.² He was succeeded by another Peter, the abbot of Saint Martin of Pannonhalma, who lived for five years in the archiepiscopal see of Split.³

At this time, Martin, the bishop of the Islands, died, and Nicholas son of Manzavinus,⁴ his nephew, inflamed with ambition, had so greatly harangued the islanders that they elected him as their bishop. Presented to the archbishop of Split, he requested that he be consecrated at his hands. But the archbishop would not let himself be caught by his tricks, knowing him to be cunning and deceitful, and did not agree with this at all. But at last, overcome by the insistence of the citizens, he promised that on Sunday, which was the next day, he would satisfy their wishes. But Nicholas, indignant at the archbishop's delay, departed that very night for Verona. There, having deceived Pope Lucius with certain subterfuges, he asked for consecration from him and received it.⁵

(996–1243) (Budapest: Szent Benedek Rend, 1902), p. 120 and p. 613. He may have been in Pannonhalma for a year or two. After his election to the see of Split, he was sent the pallium by the pope in 1191 (Farlati 3: 222).

⁴ Nicholas son of Manzavinus is mentioned in the documents as the bishop of Hvar from 1184 to 1198 (CD 2: 190, 244, 304).

⁵ Pope Lucius III stayed in Verona in 1184 and 1185.

Vacante autem ecclesia Iaderensi Nicolaus iste in archiepiscopum est electus.¹ Qui electionem temere suscipiens absque licentia apostolice sedis administrationi Iaderensi ecclesie se impudenter immersit. Quam ob rem dominus Innocentius papa eum utraque dignitate privavit.²

Insulani vero Spalaturni accedentes elegerunt in suum episcopum Micham nepotem Picii, canonicum ecclesie Spalatensis.³ Hic in Spalatina ecclesia consecrationem suscepit et pergens ad apostolice sedis presulem confirmationis rescriptum optinuit, ut deinceps episcopatus Farenensis antiquae metropoli Spalatinae, tamquam matri suae, iure perpetuo adhereret.⁴

XXIII. DE BERNARDO ARCHIEPISCOPO SPALATENSI

Eo tempore illustris vir Bela Hungariae rex,⁵ missis apochrisariis ad apostolicam sedem, supplicavit domino pape Innocentio, ut iuberet reliquias beati Vladislavi regis sublevari et in loco decentiori componi ac ipsum in sanctorum cathalogo decerneret ascribendum.⁶ Cuius petitioni summus pontifex annuit et misit quendam virum reverendissimum Gregorium de Crescentio cardinalem, ut voluntati regie satisfaceret condecenter. Tunc cardinalis apostolica legatione suscepta transfretavit et venit in partes Dalmatiae applicuitque Tragurium. Et quia yemis adhuc

¹ Nicholas son of Manzavinus is mentioned as the archbishop-elect of Zadar (*archielectus*) from 1198 to 1200 (CD 2: 304–5, 322–3).

² On 14 October 1200 Pope Innocent III (1198–1216) ordered Archbishop Bernard of Split to excommunicate Nicholas, the former bishop of Hvar, who at that moment had usurped the church of Zadar (CD 2: 352).

³ Micha became the bishop of Hvar in 1199 (CD 2: 324, 325, 341).

⁴ Thomas is here alluding to the twenty-year-long conflict for metropolitan jurisdiction over Hvar. It started in 1181, when the papal legate Theobald adjudicated the bishopric of Hvar to Split (CD 2: 178–9). For more, see MMS, pp. 270–4.

Moreover, when the church of Zadar fell vacant, this same Nicholas was chosen to be archbishop.¹ Rashly accepting the election without the permission of the Holy See, he shamelessly took over the administration of the church of Zadar. For this reason Pope Innocent deprived him of both of his ecclesiastical dignities.²

The islanders then came to Split and elected as their bishop Micha, a nephew of Picus and a canon of the church of Split.³ He received consecration in the church of Split. Then he went to the Holy See, and obtained a letter of confirmation, which stipulated that from that time onwards the bishopric of Hvar should be dependent on its ancient metropolitan see of Split by perpetual right, as it were to its mother.⁴

23 ARCHBISHOP BERNARD OF SPLIT

At that time, the illustrious Béla, king of Hungary,⁵ sent emissaries to the Holy See to entreat Pope Innocent to have the remains of the blessed King Ladislas exhumed and interred in a more fitting place, and to declare that Ladislas should be enrolled in the catalogue of saints.⁶ The pope granted this request and sent a man, the most reverend Cardinal Gregory de Crescentio, to fulfill the king's wishes in a fitting manner. Having been entrusted with the papal legation, the cardinal then crossed the sea and, coming to the region of Dalmatia, landed at Trogir. Since the harsh grip of winter was still on the land, he

⁵ Béla III (1173–96).

⁶ Thomas wrongly attributes the canonization to Pope Innocent III, who was even not a contemporary of King Béla III as pope. The pope who canonized Ladislas I in 1192 was Innocent's predecessor Celestine III (1191–8).

asperitas imminebat, voluit ibidem per totam quadragessimam comorari.¹ Erat autem in comitatu eius clericus quidam capellanus ipsius, Bernardus nomine, de provincia Tuscie, patria Perusinus, vir litteratus et eloquens, statura procerrus. Hic quia frequenter in Hungariam fuerat missus, notus erat effectus regi Bele gratiamque ipsius et multorum principum et prelatorum Hungarie habebat, ita ut rex ipse filium suum Henricum² ei nutriendum traderet et docendum. Cum ergo legatus in Hungariam profectus legationis sue peregisset officium, ad propria reversus est.

Itaque vacante ecclesia Spalatensi elegerunt Bernardum in archiepiscopum suum et quia regi carus erat, sperabant propter ipsum civitati et ecclesie multa comoda provenire. Ergo favore regio petito et facile optento miserunt Romam ad dominum Innocentium tertium petentes, ut electionem factam de Bernardo dignanter admittens consecrationis ei munus impenderet ipsumque ad regimen Spalatine ecclesie salubriter destinaret. Fuerunt autem nuntii Spalatensium: Vilcasius³ diaconus et Duimus nepos Gumay laycus. Sed non libenter summus pontifex petitionem huiusmodi admittebat, quin immo satis evidentibus inditiis dissuadere eorum desideriis videbatur. Sed tanta fuit precum instantia, quod ad ultimum acquievit. Precepit tamen eidem Bernardo, ut expeteret licentiam ab abbate monasterii sancte M. de Farneto Clusinensis diocesis,⁴ cui professionem fecerat regularem et resumeret habitum, quem reiecerat monachalem.⁵ Quod et factum est. Tunc consecratus ab Innocentio anno Domini millesimo ducentesimo⁶ venit Spalatum satisque vigilanter cepit curam pastoralis officii circa subiectos impendere.

¹ Gregory de Crescentio (*Gregorius de Sancto Apostolo sancte Marie in Porticu cardinalis*) was created cardinal by Pope Clement III in 1188. He was in Split on 16 April 1192 (that is, ten days after Easter) when he issued a document regulating the dues of the chapter of Trogir (CD 2: 253–5). He died in 1208.

² Emeric (born 1174, king of Hungary 1196–1204).

³ Vukaš was mentioned as a canon of Split at the end of the twelfth century (CD 2: 250). He would remain active in the public life of Split—as Thomas mentions later—until the 1220s, which may be corroborated by other documents (CD 3: 185, 197, 198, 203).

decided to stay there throughout Lent.¹ There was in his retinue a certain cleric named Bernard, his chaplain; he was from the province of Tuscany, a native of Perugia, a learned and eloquent man, and tall in stature. Since he had often been sent to Hungary, he had become known to King Béla, and was in favor with the king as well as with many of the princes and prelates of Hungary. The king himself sent his son Emeric² to be brought up and educated by him. The legate eventually set out for Hungary, and after he had fulfilled the duties of the legation on which he had been sent, he returned home.

But now the church of Split was vacant, and the Spalatins elected Bernard to be their archbishop. They hoped, since he was dear to the king, that the city and the church might obtain many advantages through him. They sought the support of the king, which they readily obtained, and then sent emissaries to Pope Innocent III in Rome asking that he graciously allow the election of Bernard and bestow consecration on him and dispatch him to govern the church of Split for their benefit. The emissaries from Split were Vukaš³ the deacon and Duimus nephew of Gumay, a layman. But the supreme pontiff was reluctant to grant their petition; indeed, he appeared to oppose their wishes; there were clear signs that he wished to talk them out of it. But so insistent were they in their entreaties that he finally relented. Nevertheless, he told Bernard to seek permission from the abbot of the monastery of Saint M(ary) in Farneto, in the diocese of Chiusi,⁴ to whom he had made his profession of vows, and to put on again the monk's habit, which he had cast off.⁵ And all this was done. Thereupon he was consecrated by Innocent. He came to Split in the year 1200⁶ and began to apply himself with great zeal to the pastoral duties for his flock.

⁴ The abbey of St. Mary in Badia di Farneta near Cortona. It was one of the centers of the Cluniac reform in Tuscany.

⁵ Thomas is the only source for this story, the significance of which is not clear.

⁶ Bernard is for the first time mentioned as the archbishop of Split in a document of 13 July 1200 (CD 2: 348).

Erat autem insectator hereticorum valde sollicitus.¹ Fuerunt namque eo tempore dui fratres, filii Zorobabel, quorum alter Matheus,² alter vero Aristodius vocabatur. Hi quamvis essent ex patre Appulo, erant tamen a pueritia Iaderenses cives effecti. conversabantur vero ex maiori parte apud Bosnam, quia erant pictores optimi et in aurifabrili arte satis exercitati. Competenter etiam Latine et Sclavonice litterature habebant peritiam. Sed ita erant fallente diabolo in baratrum heretice pestis immersi, ut non solum impiam heresim obcecato corde crederent, sed etiam scelestis labiis predicarent. Hos invenit Bernardus Spalati comorantes multosque iam pestiferi dogmatis tabe ab eis infectos. Cepit ergo paulatim eos ad catholicam normam miti sermone allicere frequenter eos convocans, frequenter exhortans. Sed cum illi heretica calliditate tergiversantes dissimularent converti, statim archiepiscopus fecit omnia bona eorum diripi eosque anathematis vinculo innodatos cum magno opprobrio de civitate expelli. Tunc predicti fratres videntes se maximis iniuriis dampnisque affectos ad mandatum ecclesie sunt reversi fecitque eos archiepiscopus suam heresim, tactis sancrosanctis evangelii abiurare ipsosque ab excommunicationis nexu debita solemnitate expediens, ipsorum bona restitui fecit. Sic autem omnes illi, qui per ipsos decepti fuerant, ab heretica sunt contagione mundati.

Eo tempore mortuo rege Bela Henricus filius eius in solio regni successit.³ Quam ob rem Bernardus archiepiscopus frequentius in Hungariam profectus, multum honorifice tractabatur

¹ As early as in 1200, a letter of Pope Innocent III praises Bernard because he expelled heretics from Split and Trogir (CD 2: 351). On the problem of dualist heresy in Dalmatia, Croatia and neighboring Bosnia, see John V. A. Fine, *The Bosnian Church: A New Interpretation. A Study of the Bosnian Church and its Place in State and Society from the 13th to the 15th Centuries* (Boulder, CO: East European Quarterly, 1975), and Franjo Šanjek, *Les chrétiens bosniaques et le mouvement cathare, XIIe-XVe siècles*, Publications de la Sorbonne. Série "N. S. Recherches" 20 (Brussels-Paris: Nauwelaerts-diffusion Vander-Oyez, 1976).

He was, moreover, a most zealous persecutor of heretics.¹ Now there were at that time two brothers, sons of Zorobabel, one of whom was called Matthew,² the other Aristodius. Although their father was from Apulia, they had been citizens of Zadar since childhood. They lived for most of their time in Bosnia, for they were excellent painters and skilled in the art of gold-smithing. They also had a competent knowledge of Latin and the Slavic language and letters. But lured by the devil, they had plunged so deeply into the pestilential abyss of heresy that they not only believed with blind hearts in the impious heresy, but even preached it with wicked lips. Bernard discovered that these men were staying in Split and that many others had already been infected with their corrupt teachings. He attempted, therefore, to attract them little by little back to Catholic orthodoxy by mild persuasive words, often calling them together and exhorting them. But when with the cunning and duplicity of heretics they became evasive and refused actually to convert, the archbishop immediately had all their goods confiscated, bound them with the chain of anathema, and expelled them from the city in great disgrace. When the brothers saw how they were afflicted with such great and ruinous injuries, they returned to obedience of the dictates of the church. The archbishop made them abjure their heresy swearing on the holy Gospels. He freed them from the chains of excommunication with the required ceremony, and he had their possessions restored to them. Moreover, all of those people who had been deceived by them were likewise cleansed of the infection of heresy.

At that time King Béla died, and his son Emeric succeeded to the throne.³ So Bernard often went to Hungary, where he was treated with great respect by the king and received many gifts

² Matthew son of Zorobabel (*Matheus Zorobabeli*) is mentioned among the respectful Zaratins in documents from 1193 and 1198 (CD 2: 261, 297).

³ Emeric was crowned on 18 April 1196.

a rege multaque donaria consequabatur ab ipso. Quasi patrem enim rex eum venerabatur et quicquid ab eo archiepiscopus poposcerat absque aliqua difficultate impetrabat. Ad ipsius ergo petitionem donavit rex ecclesie sancti Domnii sextalarios molendinorum Salonitani fluminis, qui septimanaliter pertinebant ad banum.¹

Cum autem rex Henricus haberet filium parvulum cuperetque eum regni successorem habere, voluit eum se vivente in regem inungi. Invitatus autem Bernardus a rege in Hungariam est profectus. Ibique cum aliis prelatis ecclesiarum regni Hungarie qui ad solemnitatem iocunditatis regie confluerant, regis filium coronavit multisque a rege honoratus muneribus ad ecclesiam suam reversus est.²

Eo tempore facta est dissensio inter Henricum regem et Andream ducem, fratrem eius³ fugatusque est bis Andreas ad maritimas regiones,⁴ cui Bernardus archiepiscopus satis bene et honeste obsecutus est. Post hec eo in Hungariam regresso maior cepit inter fratres discordiarum tumultus insurgere. Omnes enim regni proceres et universa pene totius Hungarici exercitus multitudo regem deserverant et Andree duci non legitime adherebant. Cum rege vero pauci admodum remanserant et ipsi tante seditionis metu perterriti, non regem vero ad sperandum hortari audebant, sed fugam potius suadebant. Factum est autem, ut die quadam ambe partes sibi cominus propinquant

¹ The grant of King Emeric to the church of Split concerning mills on the River Jadro is not known. It is possible that Thomas is alluding to the charter of Emeric's brother and successor Andrew II from 1207 (CD 3: 70–1), which is now mostly considered a forgery. See Nada Klaić, *Povijest Hrvata u razvijenom srednjem vijeku* [A history of the Croats in the High Middle Ages] (Zagreb: Školska knjiga, 1976), p. 16.

² Ladislav III, born 1199, was crowned on 26 August 1204. It was not usual in Hungary to have heirs crowned in their father's lifetime.

³ Later King Andrew II (born ca. 1177, reigned from 1205, died 21 September 1235). From 1198 to 1205 he held the position of the duke of Dalmatia, Croatia and Hum (CD 2: 290, 293–4, 296–7, 308–10, 338, 353–5, 357, 361; CD 3:

from him. For the king revered him as he would a father, and whatever the archbishop asked of him, he obtained without any difficulty. For example, at the archbishop's request the king gave to the church of Saint Domnius the sixths payable from those mills on the river Jadro that were rendered weekly to the ban.¹

Now King Emeric had a small son, whom he desired to make heir to the kingdom, and he wanted this son to be joined with him in the kingship while he was still alive. At the king's invitation Bernard departed for Hungary; there, with other prelates of the Hungarian churches who had flocked to celebrate the happy occasion, he crowned the king's son. He was honored by the king with many presents, and returned to his church.²

At that time discord broke out between King Emeric and his brother, Duke Andrew.³ Andrew was twice forced to flee to the coastal areas,⁴ where Archbishop Bernard offered him all due and honorable service. Later he returned to Hungary, and the conflicts and discord between the brothers grew even greater. Indeed, all the magnates of the kingdom and almost the whole of the Hungarian army deserted the king and unlawfully sided with Duke Andrew. Very few men indeed remained with the king, and even they were terrified at the extent of the insurrection, and did not dare to urge the king to hope for success, but rather advised him to flee. Then it happened that one day both sides had drawn close to each other and were beginning

2–4, 6, 17–8). The conflict between the brothers about which Thomas is speaking started as early as 1197, and became more pronounced again in 1203.

⁴ Duke Andrew was in the "coastal areas" in 1198, when in Zadar he confirmed the privileges of the Monastery of SS. Cosmas and Damian (CD 2: 293–4) and those of the monastery of St. Chrysogonus (CD 2: 296–7). Based on the list of witnesses of one of his charters from 1200, he was apparently there also in that year (CD 2: 357).

ad conflictum ineundum se sollicitate prepararent. Sed cum pars regis fere nulla esset comparatione alterius, cepit plurimum anxiari huc illucque mentem exagitans, querebat, quale consilium in tanto discrimine reperiret. Et tandem celitus inspiratus, multum solerti industria utilem viam invenit, qua et regni iura resumeret et ab effusione sanguinis innoxius permaneret. Tunc ait ad suos: «Nolite me sequi, sed paulisper subsistite.» Moxque depositis armis accepit dumtaxat virgam in manu et ingressus leniter in agmina hostium, ibat per mediam armatorum multitudinem intensa voce clamando: «Nunc videbo, quis erit ausus manum extendere ad cruorem regalis prosapie?» Quem videntes omnes cedebant nichilque mutire audentes largam ei viam hinc inde faciebant. Cum autem pervenisset ad fratrem, cepit eum et ducens extra aties misit eum in custodiam ad quoddam castrum. Et tunc omnes arma cum pudore et pavore deponentes ad regis genua provoluti veniam precabantur. Rex autem, ut erat clementissimus, universos ad gratiam suscepit.¹

Post hec autem non toto transacto anni spatio rex Henricus insanabile genus languoris incurrit. Cum ergo sciret diem sibi instare extremum, misit cum omni celeritate et fratrem suum fecit educi de custodia et ad se adduci. Qui cum presens adesset, rex coram eo testamentum condidit committens ei tutelam filii sui cum administratione totius regni, donec pupillus ad legitimum pervenisset etatem. Et sic Henricus rex mortis debitum solvit² modicoque post hec transcurso dierum spatio etiam ille unicus eius parvulus morte extinctus est.³

Tunc Andreas videns in se solum totius regni fore iura transducta, fecit se coronari a prelati Hungarie universis.⁴ Misit

¹ Thomas is the only source for this episode. Even if it sounds like a topical story of royal charisma, it must have had some foundation—at least in the oral tradition of the royal dynasty.

² 30 November 1204.

³ Ladislas III died in Vienna on 7 May 1205, where he and his mother had fled in fear from Duke Andrew.

to prepare themselves in earnest for battle. But since the king's party was nothing compared to the other side, the king became very anxious, and casting his mind this way and that, he sought to devise some plan at such a critical moment. At last, after much wise thought, with inspiration from heaven he found a successful way by which he might recover his right to the kingdom and still remain guiltless of bloodshed. So he said to his men, "Stay here a while, and do not follow me." Then he laid down his weapons, and taking only a leafy bough in his hand he walked slowly into the enemy ranks. As he passed through the midst of the armed multitude, he cried out in a loud and strong voice, "Now I shall see who will dare to raise a hand to shed the blood of the royal lineage!" Seeing him, all fell back, and not daring even to mutter, they left a wide passage for him on either side. And then when he reached his brother, he took him, and leading him outside the body of troops, he sent him to a certain castle for custody. And then all laid down their weapons with shame and dread, and they fell at the king's feet and begged forgiveness. And indeed the king, who was most merciful, received them all back into favor.¹

Not a year had passed before King Emeric fell ill with a type of incurable illness. Therefore, when he knew his final hour was approaching, he sent with all haste and had his brother released from custody and brought to him. When Andrew appeared before the king, the king made his will in his presence, entrusting to him the guardianship of his son and the administration of the entire kingdom until the ward should reach the age of majority. And thus King Emeric passed away,² and only a few days passed before his little son, his only child, also died.³

Then when Andrew saw that the rights of the entire kingdom had been transferred to himself alone, he had himself crowned by all the prelates of Hungary.⁴ He sent a invitation to Arch-

⁴ Andrew II was crowned on 29 May 1205.

autem et vocavit Bernardum archiepiscopum Spalatensem, ut ad solemnitatem regie inunctionis accederet. Sed Bernardus exstimans puerum, Henrici regis filium, adhuc vivere, ad convocationem regiam ire neglexit. Propter quod rex non satis digne tulit archiepiscopi neglectum.

XXIV. DE PRIMA CAPTIONE IADERE

Eo itaque tempore processit edictum a domino Innocentio summo pontifice, ut omnes Christiani ad succursum terre sancte se potenter accingerent fecitque indulgentiam omnium peccatorum, quoscumque ibi pro spe vite eterne mori contingeret.¹

Tunc totus pene orbis commotus est et maxime de occiduis regionibus multitudo magna crucis suscepto caractere Venetias advenerunt petentes dari sibi passagium ex classe conductitia Venetorum. Tunc inita pactione de quantitate pecunie pro navibus ac navibus persoluenda, Veneti eis expediverunt quinquaginta galeas et totidem magnas naves ac totidem alias ad subvectionem equorum et victualium et armorum. Preter hec autem fuerunt et aliarum navium expeditiones privatim conductarum factusque est stolidus navalis exercitus copiosus. Hoc etiam Veneti conditionaliter Francigenis studuerunt apponere, ut ubicumque ipsi vellent cum toto exercitu applicare, tenerentur ex pacto contra omnes homines Venetos adiuvere.²

Erant autem eo tempore Iaderenses Venetis multum infesti. Quacumque enim ex parte poterant, Venetos invadebant, bona eorum diripientes, iniuriantes, trucidantes et quicquid mali exercere valebant in ipsos, totis viribus conabantur. Quippe di-

¹ The Fourth Crusade, 1199–1204. Pope Innocent III appealed to European rulers to join the crusade as early as 1198. Among them, on 29 January 1198 he wrote to Duke Andrew, reminding him of the crusading vow of his father Béla III (CD 2: 288–9).

bishop Bernard of Split as well to come to the ceremony of the king's anointing. But Bernard thought that the boy, King Emeric's son, was still alive, and so did not care to respond to the king's summons. For this reason the king was most displeased at the archbishop's refusal.

24 THE FIRST SEIZURE OF ZADAR

At this time a proclamation came from Pope Innocent, that all Christians were to gird themselves in strength to come to the aid of the Holy Land, and he granted an indulgence for all sins to all who laid down their lives there in hope of eternal life.¹

Thus nearly the whole world was aroused, and especially from the lands of the west a great host of people took up the sign of the cross and came to Venice. There they sought to obtain passage by hiring ships from the Venetians. When an agreement was reached on the sum of money to be paid for ships and sailors, the Venetians made ready for them fifty galleys and as many large ships, and the same number for the transport of horses, provisions and weapons. Besides this, there were expeditions of other groups of ships hired privately; it thus became a vast armada, a mighty force. However, the Venetians took pains to place this condition on the Franks, that wherever the Venetians wished to land with their entire army the Franks were bound by their agreement to help the Venetians against all men.²

At that time the Zaratins were particularly hostile towards the Venetians. They attacked the Venetians in whatever way they could, seizing their goods, inflicting injury, and slaughtering them, and strove with all their might to inflict on them whatever harm it was in their power to do. For they were vastly rich,

² The crusaders started to assemble in Venice during the spring of 1202. For the Fourth Crusade in general, see Donald E. Queller and Thomas F. Madden, *The Fourth Crusade: the Conquest of Constantinople* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1997). On the agreement, see esp. pp. 9–20.

vitiis affluentes multa lascivie insolentia raptabantur, erant enim superbia tumidi, potentia elati, de iniuriis gloriantes, de malitiis exultantes, deridebant inferiores, contempnebant superiores, nullos sibi fore pares credebant. Et cum pluribus essent vitiis depravati, hoc etiam ad nequitie sue cumulum addiderunt, ut catholice fidei normam spernerent et heretica se permetterent tabe respergi. Nam pene omnes, qui nobiliores et maiores Iadere censebantur, libenter recipiebant hereticos et fovebant.¹

Itaque universa classium multitudo sustulerunt se a Venetiis anno domini millesimo ducentesimo tertio, mense octubri, et venientes circa oras Ystrie, intraverunt in Dalmatiam, applicuerunt prope Iaderensium civitatem.²

Erant autem insigniores duces ipsius exercitus: ex parte Francorum quidam Symon comes de Monteforti,³ ex parte vero Venetorum erat dux Henricus Dandolus,⁴ vir valde strenuus et circumspectus. Qui licet corporalibus oculis cecutiret, mente tamen satis noverat perspicaciter intueri.

Igitur ubi se Iaderenses viderunt ab exercitu circumvallari, timuerunt valde, quid consultius agerent nescientes. E vestigio autem subsecuta est clades nimie mortalitatis ita, ut non tot vivi et sani in civitate restarent, qui sufficerent mortuos sepelire. Iacebant miserorum cadavera in domibus et in ecclesiis inhumata, nesciebant miserandi cives, quid potius, funerea an publica officia, procurarent. Sicque factum est, ut infelix civitas, suorum presidiiis indefensa, in brevi et de facili ab hostibus caperetur. Die autem sancti Crisogoni, qui apud illos celeber-

¹ Thomas is probably alluding to the fact that leaders of the heretics in Split persecuted by Bernard were the Zaratins Matthew and Aristodius. See above, pp. 138–9.

² The fleet sailed from Venice on 8 October 1202. They landed near Zadar on 10 November 1202, and on the following day started the siege of the city; see Queller and Madden, *The Fourth Crusade*, pp. 55–78.

and were carried away by great and wanton impudence. Swollen with pride, elated with power, boasting of the outrages that they inflicted, exulting in their evil deeds, they mocked their inferiors and defied their superiors. They believed that there were none equal to them. And although they had been corrupted by so many vices, they heaped on them even a further wickedness: that they rejected the true and Catholic faith, and allowed themselves to be defiled with the sickness of heresy. For almost everyone who counted among the nobles or the high-born of Zadar gladly received and encouraged heretics.¹

And so the entire fleet weighed anchor at Venice in the month of October of the year 1203; passing down the coast of Istria, they entered Dalmatia and put to shore near the city of Zadar.²

Among the more distinguished leaders of that army was, on the side of the Franks, a certain Simon, earl of Montfort,³ and among the Venetians the doge, Enrico Dandolo,⁴ a very energetic and careful man, who, although physically blind, had learned to observe shrewdly with his mind.

Therefore, when the Zaratins saw that they were blockaded, they were very much afraid, not knowing what they should best do. All at once, however, there followed a disaster of such great mortality that not enough persons remained alive and well in the city to bury the dead. The corpses of the victims lay unburied in their houses and churches; the unfortunate citizens did not know which rather to attend to, their duties to their fellow citizens and the city or their duties to the dead. And thus it came about that the hapless city, unguarded and undefended by its own people, was quickly and easily captured by the enemy. Divine judgement was manifested against them on the day of Saint Grisogonus, the saint most venerated among them. On

³ Simon V of Montfort (ca. 1165–1218), was from 1209 to his death the leader of the Albigensian Crusade.

⁴ Enrico Dandolo (reigned 1192–1205).

rimus habebatur, divina ultio patuit super eos. Nam Veneti tunc de ratibus egressi catervatim in civitatem irruerunt, quam in momento captam¹ et aliquamdiu hospitatum in recessu totam in solitudinem redegerunt. Dirruerunt enim omnes muros eius et turres per circuitum et universas domos intrinsecus, nil nisi solas ecclesias relinquentes. Inde autem recedens omnis illa classium multitudo² perrexit Constantinopolim et cepit eam.³

Tunc Iaderenses, patria exules, ceperunt per mare discurrere, magnas Venetorum cedes, ubicumque eos invadere poterant, facientes. At Veneti missis galeis et navibus edificaverunt quoddam presidium in insula ante Iaderam⁴ ubi plurima consensu aties armatorum, prohibebant Iaderenses civitatem ingredi eos per mare undique insequentes.

His diebus advenerunt decem galee Gagetanorum ad Dalmatie partes.⁵ Tunc Bernardus archiepiscopus Spalatensis accedens ad eos, locutus est cum eis, ut darent auxilium Iaderensibus contra Venetos, qui presidium insidebant. Cum ergo Gagetani archiepiscopo acquiescerent, facta pactione de stipendio percipiendo abiit archiepiscopus Vranam,⁶ et accepit quandam argenti quantitatem, quam rex apud templarios deposuerat; et soluto stipendio coadunaverunt se Iaderenses cum Gagetanis et abeuntes ceperunt pugnare fortiter cum Venetis, qui erant in castro. Et tandem Veneti impares viribus, defecti iam et languentibus dextris resistere nequiverunt. Tunc Iaderenses cum Gaietanis potita victoria, quotquot Venetos in castro illo invenerunt, omnes

¹ Zadar was, in fact, taken on 18 November 1202, which was not the feast day of the city's patron St. Chrysogonus (24 November). However, this date is stated also in some other chronicles, and Thomas probably took it from one of them. See S. Antoljak, "Pad i razaranje Zadra u IV križarskom ratu" [The fall and destruction of Zadar during the Fourth Crusade], *Radovi Filozofskog fakulteta u Zadru* 12, *Razdio društvenih znanosti* 5 (1973–74): 71–2.

² The fleet left Zadar in April 1203.

³ 13 April 1204.

⁴ The castle of St. Michael on the island of Ugljan.

that day the Venetians disembarked from their ships and rushed in companies into the city, which was taken in hardly any time at all.¹ They lodged there for a while; then as they withdrew they reduced the whole city to a wilderness. They demolished all the encircling walls and towers and every single house inside, leaving nothing but the churches standing. Then all that great multitude of ships withdrew,² sailed to Constantinople, and captured it.³

Then the Zaratins, exiles from their country, began to roam the sea, inflicting great slaughter on the Venetians wherever they could attack them. But the Venetians dispatched galleys and ships and built a kind of fortress on an island off Zadar.⁴ There they installed a very large force of troops, who prevented the Zaratins from entering the city, and also pursued them everywhere over the sea.

In that period, ten galleys of the Gaetans arrived in Dalmatia.⁵ Archbishop Bernard of Split approached them and spoke with them about giving aid to the Zaratins against the Venetians in the [island] fortress. When the Gaetans assented to the archbishop's request, and agreement was reached concerning the payment to be received, the archbishop departed for Vrana⁶ and received a certain sum of silver, which the king had deposited with the Templars. When the payment had been made, the Zaratins joined forces with the Gaetans and went off and began to join battle vigorously with the Venetians in the fort. At last the Venetians, whose forces were unequal in strength, were weakened, and no longer able to lift their arms, they were unable to resist further. Then the Zaratins and the Gaetans, once victory had been achieved, put to the sword all the Venetians that they

⁵ From the city of Gaeta near Naples.

⁶ Vrana was a Benedictine monastery of St. Gregory near the lake of Vrana, donated by King Zvonimir to Pope Gregory VII. Since 1169 it had been a seat of the Templars.

gladio peremerunt destructoque totius munitiois illius edificio, Iaderam intraverunt.¹ Et tunc ruinas domorum suarum, ut poterant, instaurantes, habitaverunt in eis. Miserunt autem Venetias et fecerunt pacem cum ipsis, iurantes eis subiectionem perpetuam et fidelitatis constantiam observare.²

Eodem tempore volentes Veneti de Bernardo archiepiscopo sumere ultionem, venerunt cum galeis et destruxerunt turrem cum palatio, quam idem archiepiscopus construxerat in insula Hurania,³ que est ante Salonam.

His ita gestis, quedam controversia cepit inter Bernardum archiepiscopum et eius canonicos agitari. Erat enim archiepiscopus astutus et callidus, canonici vero simplices et incauti. Cepit itaque verbis blandis eos circumvenire, suadens ut refutarent privilegia iurium suorum, que olim facta fuerunt in Romana curia sub archiepiscopo Petro⁴ dicens ea falsa fore et frivola.⁵ Et tunc fere omnes resignaverunt. Erat enim eis largus in mensa, in munusculis liberalis et se familiarem ipsis plurimum exhibebat. Sed Andreas primicerius, Cataldus⁶ et quidam alii duo resignationi huiusmodi nullatenus assenserunt. Cum autem archiepiscopus a consueta munificentia paulisper manum retraheret, mox resignatores ipsi, ad se reversi, penitere ceperunt et

¹ The Zaratins reentered the city in the autumn of 1203. On 8 November 1203 they were already in the city (CD 3: 44; the document is published under the wrong date of 8 November 1204).

² The treaty between the Zaratins and the Venetians was concluded in 1204. Although its stipulations were unfavorable to Zadar, it put an end to the hostilities. According to it, both the archbishop and the count were to be from the territory of Venice, and the Zaratins were obliged to give hostages and pay great financial compensation (CD 3: 45–7).

³ Vranjic was an islet (today a small peninsula) with a village of the same name on and around it on the eastern side of the Gulf of Kaštela.

⁴ See above, ch. 22, n. 1, 2, 3, p. 132.

found in that fort, to a man; then after destroying the whole edifice of that fortification they entered Zadar.¹ There they set about restoring their ruined houses as best they could, and began to live in them again. Now, however, they sent an embassy to Venice and made peace with the Venetians, swearing to be subject to them forever and to show unswerving loyalty.²

At the same time, the Venetians, wishing to take revenge on Archbishop Bernard, came with their galleys and destroyed the palace and the tower that the archbishop had built on the island of Vranjic³ off Solin.

After these events a dispute developed between Archbishop Bernard and his canons. For the archbishop was artful and clever, whereas the canons were simple and trusting. And so he began to deceive them with smooth talk, urging them to reject the charters of their rights, which had once been granted at the Roman curia in the time of Archbishop Peter,⁴ saying that they were false and meaningless.⁵ And they surrendered almost to a man. For the archbishop was generous with them in providing table, liberal in bestowing them with little gifts, and was always most friendly to them. But Andrew the *primicerius*, Cataldus⁶ and two others did not agree in the least with this surrender. Then a time came when the archbishop for a while was less forthcoming in his usual generosity. Then the yielders soon came to their senses and began to repent. They approached the

⁵ Thomas is here most probably referring to the charter of Pope Innocent III of 16 June 1206 (CD 3: 56–8) confirming the previous privilege of Pope Celestine III of 15 June 1196 (CD 2: 278–9). Pope Innocent's charter corroborates the idea that Archbishop Bernard and a group of canons of Split visited the pope. See also the letter that the archdeacon and the archpriest sent to the chapter of Split on that occasion (CD 2: 281; wrongly dated to 1196).

⁶ Canons Andrew and Cataldus are mentioned in some documents from the beginning of the thirteenth century (CD 2: 281; CD 3: 102).

accedentes ad predictos duos, qui non resignaverant, adhaeserunt eis. Tunc archiepiscopum adeuntes cum magna instantia exposcant iura sua sibi restitui. Sed cum archiepiscopus denegaret, in tantum discordiarum excrevit procella, ut tam archiepiscopus quam canonici, fere omnes, ad Romanam curiam essent devoluti. Qui cum illuc pariter convenissent, preparabant se mutuis accusationibus impetere. Verum antequam cause huiusmodi coram summo pontifice in iudicium deducte fuissent, amicis suadentibus, et de pace consulentibus, eorum sunt animi mitigati. Nam archiepiscopus omnia ipsis restituit et sic cum pacis gaudio ad propria sunt reversi.

Fuit autem Bernardus vir scolasticus, triginta annis et eo amplius Bononie in scientiarum studiis fuerat comoratus habuitque libros plurimos bonos et pretiosos, quos suis nepotibus largitus est emitque eis magnum domicilium et turrin iuxta portam orientalem Perusine civitatis satisque ditavit eos in vita sua. Fecit autem quandam compilationem contra hereticos, composuit etiam librum sermonum.¹ Iste extraxit corpus beati Anastasii ab altari veteri et collocavit in eodem loco in altari novo anno Domini millesimo CCIX^o.²

Ordinavit autem uno die Iohannem nepotem Cucille Nonensem episcopum³ et Bartholomeum nepotem Titionis in episcopum Scardonensem.⁴ Hi ambo erant Iaderenses, nec satis leg-

¹ Bernard's time in Bologna has not yet been studied. The work against heretics is not extant today, but a part of it may be preserved within the so-called Pray-kódex in the Széchenyi National Library in Budapest (fol. 26'). See Dragutin Kniewald, "Vjerodostojnost latinskih izvora o bosanskim krstjanima" [The credibility of Latin sources regarding the *Krstjani* (Christians) of Bosnia], *Rad JAZU* 270 (1949): 135. A book of Bernard's sermons is apparently a part of a manuscript (no. 626) in the treasury of Split's cathedral. See Slavko Kovačić, "Toma Arhidakon, promicatelj crkvene obnove, i splitski nadbiskupi, osobito njegovi suvremenici" [Thomas the archdeacon, promoter of the church reform, and the archbishops of Split, particularly his contemporaries], in Mirjana Matijević Sokol and Olga Perić, *Toma Arhidakon i njegovo doba. Zbornik radova sa znanstvenog skupa održanog 25–27. rujna 2000. godine u Splitu* [Archdeacon Thomas and his time. Proceedings of the Scholarly Con-

aforementioned pair who had not yielded and took their side. Then they went to the archbishop and demanded with great insistence that their rights be restored to them. When the archbishop refused, there arose such a storm of discord that the archbishop as well as almost all the canons finally agreed to put the whole matter to the Roman curia. When the two parties assembled there, they were ready to assail each other with accusations. But before their case had actually been brought to trial before the supreme pontiff, at the urging of friends they came to a peaceful settlement, and feelings were calmed. For the archbishop restored everything to them; thus they returned home rejoicing in peace.

Moreover, Bernard was a scholar; he had spent thirty years and more at Bologna studying the sciences, and he had very many fine and valuable books, which he bestowed upon his nephews. He also bought them a large house and tower by the eastern gate of the city of Perugia, and endowed them well during his lifetime. He compiled a work against heretics, and also composed a book of sermons.¹ In the year 1209 he removed the body of Saint Anastasius from the old altar and placed it in a new altar in the same place.²

Moreover, he ordained on one and the same day John the nephew of Cucilla as bishop of Nin,³ and Bartholomew the nephew of Titio as bishop of Skradin.⁴ These men were both

ference held 25–27 September 2000 in Split], Biblioteka Knjiga Mediterana 35 (Split: Književni krug, 2004), p. 55, esp. n. 71.

² Thomas' report is confirmed by an inscription known from Farlati (*Illyricum sacrum* 1, p. 738; 3, p. 239) testifying that the pre-Gothic altar was made in 1210. Similar results have been obtained also by recent archaeological finds in the cathedral.

³ Bishop John of Nin is mentioned only in 1217 (CD 3: 166), but it is possible that he was consecrated during Bernard's pontificate.

⁴ Bishop Bartholomew of Skradin is mentioned in the sources from 1207 (CD 3: 63, 67) to 1221 (CD 3: 202).

itime in eorum fuerat promotione processum, quippe in etate et in scientia non modicum patiebantur defectum. Unde quia Bernardus non qua debuit circumspectione ad eorum examinationem processit, nimisque festinanter manum eis imposuit, non sibi cessit impune. Nam delatus apud summum pontificem, canonica fuit animadversione punitus.¹ Fecit autem Gruptium, filium Prodani, archidiaconum ecclesie Spalatine, archipresbyterum vero fecit eodem nomine Gruptium, nepotem Firme.² Hi ambo manebant in eius obsequio, sequentes eum quocumque pergebat. Sed in controversia illa privilegiorum recessit ab eo archidiaconus et cum capitulo stetit, quam ob rem non equis eum oculis archiepiscopus aspiciebat, sed mutuis se odiis insecabantur. Archipresbyter vero perseveranti constantia adhebat eidem.

Eo tempore vacante ecclesia Traguriensi electus est Treguanus³ natione Tuscus, patria Florentinus. Hic quia Bernardo archiepiscopo compatriota erat, duxit eum secum ab Hungarie partibus mansitque cum eo aliquanto tempore docens Spalatenses clericos in grammatica facultate. Cum ergo esset etate iuvenis et in his, que ad litterature peritiam pertinent, valde utilis haberetur, cives Tragurienses petierunt eum a Bernardo archiepiscopo, ut pro eorum necessitatibus deberet cum eis aliquamdiu comorari. Quorum postulatione a Bernardo concessa, abiit Treguanus Tragurium ibique cum civibus conversando mutuum contraxit amorem cum eis. Factusque est primo eorum tabellio, postmodum archidiaconus, deinde in episcopum est electus. Presentatus ergo Bernardo archiepiscopo, munus ab eo consecrationis accepit. Tunc demum cepit Traguriensem ecclesiam

¹ Bernard was suspended in November 1201; see Konrad Eubel, *Hierarchia catholica medii aevi sive Summorum pontificum, S.R.E. cardinalium, ecclesiarum antistitum series ab anno 1198 usque ad annum [1605] perducta*, 3 vols. (Münster: Regensberg, 1898–1910) vol. 3, p. xxxviii).

² Archdeacon Grupče and his namesake, the archpriest, are mentioned in the document from 1206 quoted above (CD 2: 281; see n. 5, p. 151). Archdeacon Grupče is mentioned also in a document of 1219 (CD 3: 170).

Zaratins; however, he did not proceed with proper legality in their promotion, for they suffered from no small disqualification in terms of age and learning. And because Bernard had not proceeded with due care in his examination of them and had too hastily consecrated them, he did not go unpunished. He was accused before the supreme pontiff and was punished with canonical censure.¹ He also made Grupče, son of Prodan, archdeacon of the church of Split, and he made another Grupče, a nephew of Firma, archpriest.² Both these men remained in his service and accompanied him wherever he went. But in that dispute over privileges, the archdeacon withdrew from him and sided with the chapter. In consequence, the archbishop did not regard him at all kindly; in fact, they pursued each other with mutual hatred. The archpriest, however, supported him with unwavering steadfastness.

At that time, Treguanus,³ a Tuscan from the city of Florence, was chosen to fill the vacant see of Trogir. Archbishop Bernard had brought him with himself from Hungary, for he was a compatriot of his, and he stayed with him for a considerable time instructing the clerics of Split in the study of letters. Therefore, since he was young and was considered most useful in matters pertaining to the science of letters, the citizens of Trogir asked Archbishop Bernard whether Treguanus might reside with them for a while, to help them according to their needs. Bernard granted their request, and Treguanus departed for Trogir; and as he lived with its citizens, they came to feel a great attachment to each other. And he was first made their notary, afterwards archdeacon, and finally he was elected bishop. So he was presented to Archbishop Bernard and received from him the gift of consecration. Then indeed he proceeded gradu-

³ Treguanus was archdeacon in 1203 and bishop of Trogir in 1206–54. He presided over the bishopric for more than 40 years. He compiled the newer version of the *Life of St. John of Trogir*. See above, n. 7, p. 7, and esp. n. 2, p. 76.

a rudimentis sue vetustatis ad novam informationis normam paulatim reducere eamque ecclesiasticis instituere disciplinis. Erat enim vir litteratus et eloquens suaque vigilantia industria brevi tempore fecit clerum et populum civitatis illius in bonum statum excrescere.

Per idem tempus vacante ecclesia Nonensi electus est quidam canonicus Spalatensis Nicolaus nomine, quem archiepiscopus Bernardus admittere noluit, sed fecit eligi a Nonensibus supra dictum Gruptium, archipresbiterum. Sed quia canonici Spalatenses adversabantur ei, partem Nicolay foventes, non in ecclesia metropoli, ut mos est, eundem voluit Gruptium consecrare, sed pergens Vranam apud ecclesiam templariorum consecravit eum cum altero electo Tiniensi, nomine Micuso.¹ Quae de re magna fuit suborta contentio inter Nicolaum electum et Gruptium Nonensem episcopum, ita ut distractis patrimoniis suis pro sumptibus in prosecutione causarum huiusmodi faciendis, ambe partes ad magnam inopiam devenirent.

Cum autem Bernardus archiepiscopus iam in senium vergeret, paralysis morbum incurrit adeo, ut trementibus membris elinguis efficeretur. Et cum non posset verbum nisi cum difficultate exprimere, flebat amare quando aliqui veniebant ad eum. Sed cum nondum fuisset ex toto vi languoris absorptus, abiit Romam et interfuit concilio domini Innocentii, quod apud Lateranum celebratum est.² Inde autem rediens, cum iam per omnia inutilis esset effectus, vix pauca verba coram clero et populo proponere potuit. Sed Treguanus episcopus Tragurensis uno et altero die aliquot capitula ipsius concilii perlegit et exposuit.

¹ Mikus (Michael) is mentioned as the bishop of Knin from 1221 to 1226 (CD 3: 202, 240, 252, 253, 259), which does not exclude the possibility that he was consecrated by Archbishop Bernard. For the case of Grupče and Nicholas no record exists.

ally to lead the church of Trogir away from its archaic ways to new and better practices of instruction, and to instruct it in the church's teachings. He was truly a learned and eloquent man, and in a short time by his unremitting efforts he brought the well-being of the clergy and laity of that city to a healthy, flourishing condition.

At the same time the church of Nin fell vacant, and a canon of the church of Split named Nicholas was elected. But Archbishop Bernard would not accept him. Instead, he had the people of Nin elect the previously mentioned archpriest Grupče. But the canons of Split took Nicholas' side and rejected Grupče. Consequently Bernard decided not to consecrate Grupče in the metropolitan church, as was the custom, but to go to Vrana and consecrate him there in the church of the Templars, together with another named Mikus, the bishop-elect of Knin.¹ From this sprang up a great contention between Nicholas, Nin's bishop-elect, and Grupče, its consecrated bishop. The case was pursued for so long that both parties exhausted their wealth on court costs, and were finally reduced to great poverty.

However, as Archbishop Bernard declined in years, he fell victim to a paralytic sickness, which caused his limbs to tremble and left him unable to speak. And because he could enunciate words only with great difficulty, he wept bitterly when anyone came to see him. Before his strength had become completely consumed by the illness, he went to Rome and attended the council of Pope Innocent that was held at the Lateran.² However, by the time that he returned he had become completely helpless and was barely able to speak a few words before the clergy and people. But Treguanus, the bishop of Trogir, over two days read out and explained some of the articles of the council.

² The Fourth Lateran Council, November 1215.

XXV. DE PASSAGIO ANDREE REGIS

Per idem tempus Andreas rex Hungarie votum patris exequi cupiens,¹ crucis suscepto signaculo, ad auxilium terre sancte iter arripuit profecturus.² Misit ergo, et conduxit naves magnas a Venetiis, ab Ancona et Iadera, et ab aliis civitatibus Adriatici³ sinus fecitque omnes applicare ad portum Spalatine civitatis. Premisit autem omnem apparatus armorum et escarum in multitudine curruum et iumentorum. Qui venientes repleverunt omnia per circuitum civitatis. Precessit autem regem et Hungaros ingens Saxonum multitudo, qui omnes pacifici et mansueti erant, cum devotione ac desiderio navigationem regiam prestolantes, omnes enim cruce signati erant.⁴ Ad petitionem vero domini regis dederunt Spalatenses totum suburbium ad hospitium peregrinorum, exeuntes enim de domibus illis expeditas hospitibus dimiserunt. Mox autem ita confertim replete sunt hominibus et iumentis, ut non pateret aditus transeundi. Sed non eos suburbane domus capere potuerunt, licet constricti et constipati manerent, plurima vero pars totius comitatus regalis curie morabatur extra in tentoriis per campum diffusa. Cives vero alii pavebant, alii mirabantur inconsuetam multitudinis frequentiam intuentes.

¹ Andrew had inherited the crusading vow from his father Béla III, but failed to fulfil it because of the civil war between him and his brother Emeric; see above, ch. 23.

² What follows is an account of the Hungarian participation in the Fifth Crusade (1217–8) led by King Andrew II. This narrative is one of the principal sources for this crusade; see the following: Reinhold Röhrich, *Studien zur Geschichte des fünften Kreuzzuges* (Innsbruck: Wagner, 1891), pp. 23–36; Thomas Curtis Van Cleve, “The Fifth Crusade,” in K. Setton, *A History of the Crusades*, 2nd ed., vol. 2 (Madison, WI: University of Wisconsin Press, 1969), pp. 377–94.

³ The text of an agreement to provide transport for the crusaders concluded in Venice survives and has been assigned a date early in 1217 (Gusztáv Wenzel, *Árpádkori új okmánytár. Codex diplomaticus Arpadianus continuatus*, vol. 6, MHH, Diplomataria 11, Budapest: MTA, 1867) pp. 380–3; RA 1/1: 108,

25 THE EXPEDITION OF KING ANDREW

During this time King Andrew of Hungary had taken the sign of the cross, desiring to fulfill his father's vow,¹ and set out on a journey to go to the aid of the Holy Land.² He therefore sent word and hired large vessels from Venice, Ancona, Zadar, and other cities along the Adriatic coast.³ He directed them all to set their course for the harbor of the city of Split. Moreover, he sent ahead all the equipment, arms, and provisions on a great number of carts and pack-animals. So when they arrived they filled the entire city to overflowing. In advance of the king and the Hungarians a huge crowd of Saxons arrived. They were all peaceable and well-behaved and were looking forward with eagerness and devotion to sailing with the king, for each had taken the sign of the cross.⁴ At the king's request the Spalatins gave over the entire area outside the walls to the pilgrims for lodging. Indeed, they vacated their houses and turned them over to their guests. Soon, however, these quarters were so densely filled with men and beasts that there was no room to pass in or out. And even so the suburban houses could not hold all of them, no matter how tightly they were crowded together and packed in. The greater part of the retinue of the royal court remained outside the city in tents scattered over the fields. As for the citizens, some were terrified, while others marveled to see the unaccustomed throng of people.

no. 327. The agreement specified that the Venetians should provide ten ships of a certain weight manned by 50 sailors each. In return, Andrew agreed to pay 550 silver marks per ship. Of considerable importance in this agreement was the king's further formal renunciation of Hungarian claims over Zadar in favor of Venice, about which Thomas is completely silent.

⁴ These "Saxons" are most probably the Bavarian and Austrian crusaders who under the leadership of Duke Otto VII of Andechs-Merania and Duke Leopold VI of Babenberg accompanied the Hungarian expedition. Van Cleve, "Fifth Crusade," p. 388, has interpreted this as a reference to the Transylvanian Saxons, but this seems unlikely.

Itaque anno redemptionis nostre millesimo ducentesimo septimo decimo, mense Augusto, vicesimo tertio die, advenit Andreas rex ad civitatem Spalatinam. Exierunt autem processionaliter obviam domino regi universi cives, omnesque forenses totaque turba sui exercitus, laudes ei altis vocibus concrepantes. Deinde clerus omnis olosericis super comptas induti vestibus cum crucibus et thuribulis procedentes usque posturium, prout regie magnificentie dignum erat pariter, concinnebant. Ipse vero illustris rex, viso processionei cetui solempni, statim descendit de equo, magnaue suorum principum vallatus caterva, tenentibus eum hinc inde episcopis, qui convenerant, pedes usque ad ecclesiam sancti Domnii processit. Ubi celebrato missarum officio, et data oblatione super altare, ad hospitium secessit. Ea die comunitas exhibuit regi affluentissimam procurationem in domo, que dicitur Mata extra muros aquilonaris porte.¹ Dicebatur autem tunc fuisse in comitatu regio plus quam decem milia equitum, excepta vulgari multitudine, que pene innumerabilis erat. Tunc rex cepit magnam benignitatem erga Spalatenses cives ostendere, ita ut ipse ultro provocaret eos ad petendum a se, quod eis ad publicum cederet comodum. Velle quippe regis erat, ut ad munimen civitatis sue reciperent castrum Clisse,² volebat nichilominus eis concedere comitatum insularum.³ Sed Spalatenses suo more ad publica nimis tardi, ad privata comoda singuli intendebant. Neglectis siquidem regalibus beneficiis, que eis pie et liberaliter concedebat,⁴ rex proprio clementie sue provocatus affectu, noluit castrum illud committere alicui de proceribus sciens, quia multa infestatio Spalatensibus ex illo castro procedat, sed accersito quodam Pontio, qui erat magister mili-

¹ While the amount of money given to the king at this time is unknown, it was sufficiently large for the Spalatins to worry that their wealth might later be the object of royal greed. They successfully petitioned Pope Honorius III (1216–27) for a solemn guarantee that the 1217 procuration did not constitute a precedent (CD 3: 180–1).

² Klis (Lat. Clissium or Clissa) was a strategically located mountain castle some ten kilometers north-east of Split, which lay astride the major highway linking the city with the Croatian hinterland.

And so, in the year of our Redemption 1217, on the 23rd day of the month of August, King Andrew arrived at the city of Split. All the citizens and foreigners and the whole crowd of his army marched out in procession to meet the lord king, loudly sounding his praises. Then all the clergy robed in silk vestments over their surplices proceeded with crosses and censers as far as the Pistura Square, chanting together in a manner worthy of the king's majesty. Upon seeing the solemn assemblage in procession, the illustrious king at once dismounted from his horse. Surrounded by a large company of his magnates, he went on foot, flanked on either side by the assembled bishops, to the church of Saint Domnius. Then, after mass had been celebrated and the offering had been given on the altar, he retired to his quarters. On that day the community bestowed a most generous procuration on the king in the house called Mata, outside the walls at the northern gate.¹ There were then said to have been more than 10,000 horsemen in the royal retinue, not including a host of commoners, who were almost without number. The king showed great favor to the citizens of Split at this time: he went so far as to invite them to ask of their own accord what he might grant them for the public good. Indeed, it was the king's will that they should receive the castle of Klis for the defense of their city;² he even wished to grant them the lordship of the islands.³ But the Spalatins, as was their wont, attended each to his own private advantage and only too slowly to the common good. Thus, they showed little interest in the royal favors that the king so kindly and generously offered to them.⁴ Nevertheless the king, prompted by his own merciful disposition, was reluctant to entrust the fortress of Klis to any of the magnates, knowing what great harm could come to the Spalatins from that castle. Rather, he summoned a certain Pon-

³ That is, Brač, Hvar and Vis, and the adjacent islets.

⁴ In a grant to the city specifically requested by the canons of the cathedral and other ecclesiastical notables, King Andrew gave the Spalatins possession in perpetuity of the land within the ruined ancient walls of Salona (CD 3: 160; RA 1/1: 107, no. 326).

tie domus templi per regnum Hungarie, comisit ad manus eius custodiam et tutelam ipsius castri, precipiens ut vicissim fratres sue religionis ibidem faceret insidere.¹

Cum autem Andreas rex aliquantam moram faceret preparando navigium, Bernardus archiepiscopus mortis debitum solvit.² Sepultus vero est iuxta ecclesiam sancti Domnii. Protinus autem rex misit ad canonicos Spalatenses rogans et consulens, ut eligerent de clericis, qui circa ipsum erant, maxime quidem instabat pro quodam Alexandro fisico, qui erat vir litteratus et honestus, per quem ecclesie poterant multa commoda provenire.³ Sed non fuit petitio regis admissa, quoniam aliorum tendebat intentio seniorum.

Interea rex naves ingressus dispositum arripuit iter. Spalatenses vero dederunt ei usque Diracchium duarum galearum conductum. Non potuit rex tantum habere navigium, quod sufficeret ad passagium omnibus cruce signatis, quam ob rem necessitate compulsi alii redierunt ad propria, alii vero expectaverunt usque ad annum sequentem.

Eodem tempore Stephanus dominus Servie sive Rasie, qui megaiupanus appellabatur, missis apochrisariis ad Romanam sedem, impetravit ab Honorio summo pontifice coronam regni. Direxit namque legatum a latere suo, qui veniens coronavit eum primumque regem constituit terre sue.⁴

¹ Pontius de Cruce was master of the Knights Templar of the province of Hungary and Slavonia, as prior of Vrana, and was appointed royal lieutenant for Croatia and Dalmatia during the king's absence (CD 3: 165, 174–6). For the Templars in Central Europe and particularly the province of Hungary and Slavonia, see the articles of Karl Borchardt ("The Templars in Central Europe") and Balázs Stossek ("Maisons et Possessions des Templiers en Hongrie") in Zsolt Hunyadi and József Laszlovszky (eds.), *The Crusades and the Military Orders. Expanding the Frontiers of Medieval Latin Christianity* (Budapest: Department of Medieval Studies, Central European University, 2001), pp. 233–51.

² Archbishop Bernard died most probably at the end of August 1217.

tius, master of the Order of the Knights Templar in the kingdom of Hungary, and entrusted into his hands the care and protection of the castle and commanded him to see that the brothers of his order occupied it by turns.¹

While King Andrew delayed his departure for some time as the fleet was being readied, Archbishop Bernard died² and was buried next to the church of Saint Domnius. At once the king sent word to the canons of Split, advising and requesting them to elect someone from among the clergy who were around him. In fact he strongly pressed for a certain Alexander, a physician, an upright and a learned man through whom the interests of the church might be advanced.³ But the king's request was not granted, because the church elders were otherwise inclined.

Meanwhile the king boarded ship and set out on his prearranged journey. The Spalatins even gave him an escort of two galleys as far as Durrës. Yet, as the king had been unable to obtain a sufficiently large fleet to transport all the crusaders, some were compelled by necessity to return home, while others were obliged to wait until the following year.

At that time Stephen, the lord of Serbia or Rascia, who was called the grand *župan*, sent high-ranking envoys to the Holy See to ask for a royal crown from Pope Honorius. The supreme pontiff dispatched his legate *a latere*, who upon arrival crowned Stephen and instituted him as the first king of his land.⁴

³ Alexander the physician is unidentified. It is noteworthy, however, that Alexander the provost of Transylvania was one of the Hungarian negotiators of the transport agreement with Venice cited above, n. 3, p. 158.

⁴ The coronation of Stephen the First-Crowned (*Prvovenčani*), son of Stephen Nemanje, by a papal legate in 1217 is also reported by the Venetian chronicler Andreas Dandolo, *Chronicon Venetum*, in Lodovico Antonio Muratori (ed.), *Rerum Italicarum Scriptores*, XII (Milan, 1728), pp. 340–1; see M. L. Burian, "Die Krönung des Stephan Prvovenčani und die Beziehungen Serbiens zum römischen Stuhl," *Archiv für Kulturgeschichte* 23 (1933): 141–51.

At rex Andreas ad partes Syrie transvectus, magnum metum incusserat Saracenis. Explicatis siquidem sue militie copiis, abiit satis procul a regione maritima, expugnans castra et villas, et obstantia queque conculcans.¹ Sed *invida fatorum series* preclara principis prepedivit incepta nec bonos ipsius successus permisit ulterius progredi.² Ecce etenim, nescio an suorum an extraneorum, nefaria temeritas regis machinatur in mortem, impiæque manus diabolicis armata versutiis venenatum ei haustum propinat, ex quo scelere vix mortis potuit periculum evitare.³ Necdum vero sanitate ad integrum recuperata, redeundi cepit habere propositum, verens se suumque regnum in tantum precipitare discrimen credensque de suo voto pleniter Domino satisfactum, incipit cum omni comitatu suo ad patrie regredi fines. Noluit autem ulterius marinis se committere casibus, sed per terram iter faciens, venit Anthiochiam,⁴ deinde transivit in Gretiam, ubi affinitate contracta cum Lascaro rege Grecorum ultra progreditur. Accepit enim filiam eius suo filio primogenito Bele in uxorem.⁵ Exinde peragratis Gretie finibus, ascendit in Bulgariam, ubi ab Oxano Bulgarorum rege detentus est, nec ante abire permissus, quam plenam ei securitatem faceret, quod ei suam filiam matrimonio copularet.⁶ Sic autem Andreas rex peregrinationis sue completo itinere, ad sua regna reversus est. Nos vero his breviter prelibatis ad materiam redeamus.

¹ Thomas' wholly favorable account of Andrew's deeds in Palestine may well be based upon reports of crusade veterans. For the scholarly assessment of King Andrew's Crusade, see James Ross Sweeney, "Hungary in the Crusades, 1169–1218," *The International History Review* 3 (1981): 467–81.

² The reference to "fate's envious course" is a reworking of a theme from Lucan, *Invida fatorum series summisque negatum stare diu* (*Phars.* 1. 70). This fact is also established by an unknown fifteenth-century reader of the Split codex, who noted it in the margin of folio 50.

³ Thomas is the sole source for the story that Andrew was poisoned and for this reason decided to terminate the expedition in mid-January 1218, after a scant three months.

⁴ In early January King Andrew was in Tripoli for the marriage of his cousin Bohemund of Antioch to Melisende of Cyprus. His itinerary led from Tripoli to Antioch, then through Anatolia by way of Cilician Armenia (Röhrich, *Studien*, p. 30).

Now King Andrew had crossed to Syria and struck great fear into the Saracens. After he had deployed his numerous forces he advanced a good distance inland from the coast, storming castles and towns and crushing underfoot every obstruction that stood in his way.¹ But *fate's envious course* hampered the prince's noble undertakings and did not permit his worthy successes to be advanced further.² For behold, evil and audacious men, whether his own or strangers I know not, schemed at the king's death and, armed with diabolical cunning, treacherously passed him a poisoned drink! As a result of this villainy he but narrowly escaped the threat of death.³ In fact even before he was fully recovered, he began to think of returning. Fearing to expose himself and his kingdom to such risks, and believing his vow to the Lord to be fully satisfied, he commenced the return march to the frontiers of his own country, accompanied by his entire retinue. Moreover, he had no wish to entrust himself further to the fortunes of the sea; but making the journey by land, he arrived at Antioch.⁴ From there he passed on to Greece, where, before advancing further, he contracted a marriage alliance with Lascaris, king of the Greeks, accepting the king's daughter as a wife for his first-born son Béla.⁵ From there he traveled through Greece and went up into Bulgaria. There he was detained by Asen, the king of the Bulgarians, who did not permit him to depart until Andrew gave full surety that his daughter would be united in marriage to the Bulgarian king.⁶ Thus did King Andrew complete his pilgrimage and return to his own kingdom. Now that we have briefly treated these matters, let us return to our main subject.

⁵ Theodore I Lascaris, emperor in Nicaea (1208–22). His daughter mentioned here is Mary (died 1270), who became the queen of Hungary upon the accession of Béla IV in 1235. For Theodore I Lascaris, see George Ostrogorsky, *History of the Byzantine State*, second edition, tr. by Joan Hussey (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1968), pp. 419, 425–34, 443.

⁶ John II Asen, the tsar of Bulgaria (1218–41), married Mary of Hungary (died 1237). Ivan Asen's hostile treatment of the returning Hungarian king was in keeping with the long-standing feud between the two countries; see J. R. Sweeney, "Innocent III, Hungary and the Bulgarian Coronation," *Church History* 42 (1973): 320–34.

XXVI. DE PROMOTIONE GUNCELLI

Erant autem tunc temporis maiores in capitulo Spalatensi Grup-tius filius Prodani, archidiaconus, et Cataldus filius Formini¹ et quidam alii pauci. Hos, quia digniores et maturiores erant, ceteri canonici sequebantur. Sed de substituendo pontifice non bene cogitabant hi duo, quia non recte emulationis compede trahebantur. Aiebant enim plerumque ad invicem: «Quoniam quietius et utilius se res nostre haberent, si ecclesia sic sine pastore maneret, quam si subrogabitur aliquis, qui vitam nostram vexabit, super nos dominium exercebit». Itaque cum aliqua fiebat mentio de electione facienda, ipsi astuta cavillatione voces murmurantium comprimebant. Simulabant enim se velle eligere et nominabant pueros filios nobilium de Hungaria, qui etatis imbecillitate ad pastorale fastigium provehi non valebant, occasiones subdolas pretendentes dicebant «utile fore ecclesie et civitati, si tales habuerimus principes in regis curia protectores».

Cum ergo his malignis dilationibus ecclesia Spalatensis foret iam biennio supplantata, diaconus quidam, Petrus nomine,² erat valde curiosus et impatiens. Hic cum esset de humili genere oriundus, non audebat se palam opponere parti archidiaconi et eius complicum nec eorum dolos ducere in apertum. Magnis tamen dolorum stimulis angebatur non tantum ob hoc, quod ecclesia pastore careret, sed quia fructus ipsius, ut dicebatur, ad suum usum seniores predicti devolvebant. Murmurabat autem sepius et tacebat.

Erat autem quidam clericus Hungarus, Guncellus nomine, filius Cornelii, nobilis quidam genere, sed non magni valoris ipse. Hic cum esset iam provecte etatis, nullam potuit in Hungariam

¹ Cataldus, a canon, is mentioned in the documents in 1210 (CD 3: 102) and again around 1229, when he became the archdeacon (CD 3: 327–8).

² Deacon Peter is mentioned in several documents from the 1220s (CD 3: 171, 301).

26 THE ELEVATION OF GUNCCEL

At that time the oldest members of the chapter of Split were Archdeacon Grupče the son of Prodan and Cataldus the son of Forminus,¹ along with a few others. The other canons followed these men, for they were worthier and more experienced. But these two were not well disposed on the subject of finding a new bishop, because they were influenced wrongly by the bonds of combative rivalry. In fact they usually said to each other, "How much quieter and more comfortable our life would be if the church remained as it is, without a pastor, than if someone should be appointed who would cause us trouble and be lord over us." And so when any mention was made of holding an election, they silenced the murmurs of dissatisfaction with clever manipulation. Thus they pretended that they did wish to elect someone, and then nominated some boys from among the Hungarian noblemen. In fact, the latter were disqualified by their age from being elevated to such high office; but they put forward sly arguments, saying, "It would be to the advantage of the church and the city if we were to have such nobles to protect us at the king's court."

When because of these dishonest delays the see of Split had remained empty for two years, a deacon named Peter² became very curious and impatient. Because he came from a humble family, he did not dare to oppose the archdeacon and his accomplices publicly, or to expose their scheming openly. Nevertheless, he was much troubled and grieved, not only because the church lacked a pastor, but because, it was said, the aforementioned elders were diverting the church's income to their private use. He grumbled often, but kept his peace.

There was, however, a Hungarian cleric named Guncel, the son of Cornelius, of a noble family but himself lacking strength of character. As he was by then advanced in years, he was not able to hold any high office in Hungary, but instead, after he

dignitatem habere, sed assumpto cruciferorum habitu¹ factus erat rector cuiusdam ecclesie sancti Stephani regis. Cum ergo Spalatensis ecclesia multo iam tempore pastore vacaret,² iste Guncellus cepit se sollicite intromittere, ut in pontificem eligeretur. Factum est autem, ut quidam Yula banus,³ qui erat de eius genere, mitteret ad clerum et populum Spalatensem epistolam satis loquacem, commendando Guncellum, et suadendo, ut eligeretur, ac promittendo suum servitium et amorem. Tunc predictus Petrus diaconus, ut erat verbosus, nacta occasione, abiit susurrando per clericos et per laycos, laudando Guncellum de potentia, de honestate, de scientia, de quibus ipse nullam habebat certitudinem, sed ut seniorum intentionem elideret, modis omnibus satagebat, ut eligeretur Guncellus.

Erat autem tunc temporis Domaldus comes civitatis Spalatine, vir satis circumspectus et providus.⁴ Hic quia bene Guncellum noverat, veritatem asserebat de ipso, quia pro suorum levitate morum habilis non erat tanto sacerdotio fungi. Alii etiam multum tale de ipso testimonium dabant. Sed Petrus suorum procacitate verborum omnes revincebat. Et quamvis in ecclesia Spalatensi vel alibi non deessent persone, que tutiori via et iustiori possent ordine ad eam provehi dignitatem: vulgaris tamen inscitia hac vanitatis ventositate raptatur, ut notos contempnant, ignotos posse patrare miracula arbitrentur. Ast alii tanta invidie tabe livescunt, ut quod ipsi assequi non merentur, hoc meritos prohibeant adipisci. Aliorum enim profectum sibi reputant in defectum.

¹ That is, as a Hospitaller.

² Documents mention after Bernard from 1217 to 1219 a certain Slavac as archbishop-elect of Split (CD 3: 164, 170, 172), and a letter of Pope Honorius III to the chapter of Split of 29 July 1220 (CD 3: 182) mentions six archbishops-elect of Split who were not confirmed or did not want to take over the see because of its poverty.

³ Gyula of the Kán kindred was one of the most powerful aristocrats of that period. He held different high offices (ban of Slavonia 1219, count palatine 1222–6, count of several counties) and was the ban of all Slavonia from 1229 to 1234 (CD 3: 311, 315, 324, 344, 346, 367, 369, 423, 425).

had taken on the garb of the crusaders,¹ he was made rector of a certain church of Saint Stephen the King. Therefore, since the church of Split had been without a pastor for a long time,² this Guncel began to push in earnest to have himself elected bishop. It then happened that a certain Ban Gyula,³ a relative of Guncel's, wrote a very fulsome letter to the clergy and people of Split commending Guncel and urging his election; at the same time, he promised his own service and love. Thereupon Peter the deacon, who was very talkative, discovered his opportunity, and went whispering among the clergy and laymen, praising Guncel for his ability, his character and his knowledge—things of which he himself had no certain notion. But in order to thwart the plans of the elders, he busied himself in all ways to have Guncel elected.

At that time, the count of the city of Split was Domald, a man of great caution and foresight.⁴ He knew Guncel well, and so was able to state the truth about him—namely, that because of the inconstancy of his behavior, he was not fit to discharge so great an office. Moreover, many others also delivered a similar judgement about him; but Peter, outspoken and voluble, dismissed all their arguments. And although there was no lack of persons, in the church of Split and elsewhere, who might less rashly and with a fitter claim be advanced to such a high office, nevertheless, the uninformed were swept away by this stream of empty talk. They scorn those that they know, and imagine that persons unknown are capable of performing miracles. And still others are so consumed by envy that what they themselves are not worthy to attain, they deny to those who are worthy; for they judge others' success as their own failure.

⁴ Domald was a member of the most powerful aristocratic kindred in Croatia in the second half of the twelfth and the first half of the thirteenth century. He was the count of several counties (Sidraga, Cetina and Šibenik) and for some time had a close relationship with the royal court. He was the count of Split from some time before 1207 to March 1221 (CD 3: 67, 70, 78 *et passim*). On Domald, see Damir Karbić, *The Šubići of Bribir. A Case Study of a Croatian Medieval Kindred* (unpublished Ph.D. Thesis, Budapest: CEU, 1999), pp. 35–9, esp. n. 109.

Cum ergo instantibus laicis omnes clerici ad eligendum fuissent inducti, adhuc archidiaconus cum suis nullatenus consentire volebant. Sed cum tumultus popularis seditionis insurgere videretur, vix tandem acquieverunt inviti. Ante biduum vel triduum quam eadem celebraretur electio, quidam ex his, qui cum Petro promotionem electionis moliebant, vidit per visum, quod pulpitem ecclesie dirutum erat et archiepiscopalis sedes eversa iacebat. Dicebat autem Petro: «Quid hoc esset?» Respondebat ipsi: «Hoc nescis modo, scies autem postea.» Licet autem hec visio non boni auspicii portendisset eventum, non minus tamen incepta improbitas insistebat, donec electio qualiscumque solemnizata est et peracta. Tunc miserunt ad eum Vulcasium diaconum nuntiantes ei electionem de ipso unanimiter celebratam et petentes, ut ad ecclesiam Spalatensem accederet incunctanter.

Suscepta ergo legatione Guncellus valde letus effectus est et mox ad summum pontificem¹ pro confirmatione sue electionis nuntium destinavit. Ipse vero iter arripuit Spalatum veniendi. Cum autem esset inops scientie, ambitionis vero stimulus eum acriter perurgeret, adhuc in itinere positus apud Vranam templariorum in vigilia Pentecostes² se fecit in diaconum ordinari a Gruptio Nonensi episcopo, qui cum eo ab Hungaria veniebat. Cum autem civitatem intrasset, satis officiose ab omnibus susceptus est. Et cum aliquantam ibi moram fecisset, tanta in eo levitas verborum et morum apparuit, ut omnibus in tedium deveniret, seraque penitudine ducti, qualiter ab ipso possent evadere, cogitabant. Sicque factum est, ut qui ignotus fuerat dilectus, notus foret exosus et quem non videntes affectuose traxerant, videntes eicere appetebant. Sed Guncellus papali confirmatione suscepta, optinuit nichilominus in partibus Hungarie consecrari. Siquidem dominus Honorius summus pontifex missa aucto-

¹ Pope Honorius III (1216–27).

² 16 May 1220. The vigil was thus 15 May.

So at the urging of the laity all the clerics were persuaded to hold an election; yet the archdeacon and his supporters still flatly refused their consent. But with popular unrest close to outright revolt, they gave in at last with great reluctance. Then two or three days before the election was to be held, one of the men who was working with Peter to promote the election had a vision in which he saw the pulpit of the church cast down and the archiepiscopal throne lying upside down. When he asked Peter what this meant, the latter answered, "At the moment you don't know, but some day you will." Although this vision did not augur a happy outcome, nevertheless the shameless undertaking went ahead, until the election, such as it was, was organized and carried out. They then sent Deacon Vukaš to Guncel to announce that the election had been decided unanimously in his favor and to ask him to come to the church of Split without delay.

When the legation came, Guncel was overjoyed, and forthwith sent a messenger to the pope¹ to ask for confirmation of his election. Meanwhile he himself set off for Split. Now as he was quite ignorant, the spur of ambition drove him all the more relentlessly; thus in the middle of his journey he stopped at the house of the Templars in Vrana and on the vigil of Pentecost² had himself ordained deacon by Grupče, the bishop of Nin, who was journeying with him from Hungary. When he entered the city, he was received with great honor by everyone. However, after he had been there for but a short while, it became clear how shallow his words and character were. Everyone grew weary of him, and brought to late repentance they began to wonder how they might be rid of him. And so it came about that having been held in regard when he was a stranger, he was detested when they came to know him; they drew to their bosoms one whom they had not seen, but on seeing him they longed to cast him forth. Nevertheless, Guncel received papal confirmation and obtained permission to be consecrated in Hungary. For Pope Honorius sent his authorization and instructed Bishop

ritate Roberto Vesprimiensi episcopo¹ precepit, ut examinatis diligenter tam electi persona, quam electionis forma, si nichil obstaret de canonicis institutis, munus ei consecrationis impenderet. Robertus vero suscepto apostolico mandato,² quamvis esset vir discretus et relligiosus, non tamen de rerum circumstantiis, que in huiusmodi processibus inquirende sunt, curiosus extitit indagator. Unde consecrationem ei facile tribuens, precepit sibi, ut pro petendo pallio apostolico se conspectui presentaret.

Venit ergo Guncellus ad suam ecclesiam consecratus nimiumque ad exercenda pontificalia festinus et promptus nondum optento pallio ecclesias consecrabat, celebrabat ordines et se ubique archiepiscopum nominabat.

His temporibus misit summus pontifex quendam apochrisarium suum, nomine Acontium, natione Biterbiensem, curie capellanum, virum valde discretum et bonum; misit, inquam, eum pro quibusdam arduis negotiis ad totum Hungarie regnum, dans sibi mandatum, ut ad Dalmatie partes descenderet piratasque Almissanos a latrociniis cohiberet.³ Sed cum non haberet plenam legationem nimioque succenderetur zelo multas enormitates in clero et populo corrigendi, Spalati positus, misit nuntios suos ad domini pape curiam postulans, ut perfecte sibi legationis auctoritas preberetur. Profectis ergo nuntiis Acontius in Spalatensi urbe permansit, donec redirent expectans. Videns vero archiepiscopi temeritatem et imperitiam, multum compatiebatur ecclesie Spalatine, quod tam insolentem fuerat sortita pastorem. Arguebat autem eum frequenter. Sed ipse, sicut onager, assuetus in heremo⁴ et ipsum Acontium et eius monita

¹ Robert, bishop of Veszprém 1209–26, archbishop of Esztergom 1226–38. He was by origin from Liège. From 1207 to 1209 he was provost of Székesfehérvár and royal chancellor.

² CD 3: 182.

³ That Acontius' task was the fight against the pirates is clearly stated in the letter of Pope Honorius III of 13 April 1221 to the Spalatins and their count (CD 3: 191–2).

Robert of Veszprém¹ to examine carefully both the person of the candidate and the procedure of the election; if there were no canonical impediment, he should bestow upon Guncel the gift of consecration. Now Robert was a sound and pious man; but on receiving the papal mandate² he did not inquire thoroughly concerning the circumstances which need to be investigated in such proceedings. So without further ado Robert bestowed consecration upon Guncel and bade him present himself before the pope to request the *pallium*.

However, after Guncel had been consecrated, he came to his church, and all too quickly and readily began to exercise his episcopal authority. Even though he did not yet possess the *pallium*, he consecrated churches, held all the rites and in all matters styled himself archbishop.

At this point, the pope sent out an apocrisiary named Acontius, a native of Viterbo, who was chaplain at the curia, a very prudent and good man. He sent him the length and breadth of Hungary to deal with some difficult matters, and gave him instructions to go down to Dalmatia and to take measures to curb the depredations of the pirates of Omiš.³ Now Acontius was not empowered to act as legate there, but he was most concerned to correct the many abuses among the clergy and the people: thus, while he was in Split, he sent his messengers to the papal curia to request that he be granted the full authority of a legate. The messengers set out, and Acontius waited in the city of Split for their return. Thus he saw the inexperience and the ignorance of the archbishop and felt great pity for the church of Split that it had been saddled with so insolent, insufferable, immoderate, high-handed and tactless a pastor. Moreover, Acontius often took him to task, but the archbishop, like a wild ass used to the wilderness,⁴ paid no heed to either Acontius or his warnings.

⁴ Cf. Jer. 2: 24.

contempnebat. Interea nuntii redierunt de curia, legationis officium eidem Acontio plenissime perferentes. Tunc Acontius, sedis apostolice auctoritate suffultus, cepit multa circa clerum populumque corrigere, ecclesiam novis studiis informando. Fecit enim a clero cunctas expelli focarias,¹ de quibus archiepiscopo nulla suberat emendationis cura.

Convocavit autem totam Dalmatiam et Chroatiam in adiutorium suum contra hereticos² et piratas, faciens indulgentias omnibus, quicumque zelo divino succensi in personis vel expensis ad eorum interitum laborarent. Tunc congregato multo navali exercitu et equestri, cepit eos undique impugnare. In tantum enim Almisanos in mari et terra insequendo contrivit, ut defectis viribus desperarent ulterius se posse resistere. Venerunt ergo et corruentes ad pedes legati pacem et misericordiam humiliter implorabant, promittentes omnem emendationem et obedientiam ad eius beneplacita et mandata. Quos legatus suscipiens, fecit eos omnes piraticas naves exurere, promittentes interposito iuramento, ut a christiana iam infestatione cessarent.

Eo tempore misit Guncellus archiepiscopus nuntium³ ad Romanam sedem pro pallio postulando. E vestigio vero legatus Acontius misit litteras et nuntios, excessus archiepiscopi summo pontifici nuntiando. Dominus vero papa misit pallium ad manus legati, committens sibi, ut in causa archiepiscopi, sicut videretur, de iure procederet. Accepto siquidem papali mandato legatus pallium tradidit servandum cuidam abbati de Rogova,⁴

¹ *Focaria*, an ecclesiastic's concubine (lit. [female] cook, housekeeper).

² The pope's mandate to Acontius to proceed against the heretics in Bosnia is dated 3 December 1221 (CD 3: 196–7).

³ This envoy was Canon Vukaš (*Vulcasius*, *Wlcasius*; CD 3: 197–8). See above, n. 3, p. 136.

⁴ The abbey of SS. Cosmas and Damian was originally founded as the abbey of St. John the Evangelist in Biograd in the 1060s. It was transferred (under the new patrocinium) to the nearby island of Pašman, in the locality of Čokovac, where it is still standing, after Biograd was destroyed by the Vene-

Meanwhile the messengers returned from the curia bringing to Acontius his appointment as full legate. Then Acontius, supported by the authority of the Holy See, began to correct many things among the clergy and the people, and infused the church with new zeal. For example, he had all the clerics' concubines¹ driven away, an irregularity that it had not struck the archbishop as necessary to correct.

Moreover, he called on the whole of Dalmatia and Croatia to come to his aid against the heretics² and pirates, and granted indulgences to all those who, fired by love of God, labored either in person or by meeting costs to bring about their destruction. He assembled a large force of ships and cavalry, and began to attack them from all sides. He pursued the men of Omiš by land and sea until their strength gave out and they gave up hope of further resistance. Then they came and threw themselves at the legate's feet, humbly begging for peace and mercy, and promising to mend their ways and to carry out all his wishes and instructions. The legate received them graciously, but compelled them to burn all their pirate ships and to promise under oath that they would henceforth cease all attacks upon Christians.

It was at that point that Archbishop Guncel sent a messenger³ to the Roman See to request the *pallium*. Instantly the legate Acontius sent a letter and messengers to the pope reporting the archbishop's transgressions. So the pope sent the *pallium* to the legate and entrusted him to proceed as he saw right and fitting in the case of the archbishop. On receiving the pope's instructions the legate committed the *pallium* for safekeeping to the abbot of Rogovo.⁴ Meanwhile he suspended the archbishop

tians in 1125. It was frequently called the abbey of Rogovo, because its main estate on the mainland was situated in the village of Rogovo. The abbot of SS. Cosmas and Damian mentioned here was Robert (1221–40). Archbishop Guncel was the principal arbitrator in the lawsuit between the Templars of Vrana and the abbey in 1229 (see CD 3: 311–2, 315–8, 327).

archiepiscopum vero ab omni pontificali suspendens officio, precepit ei, ut de suis satisfactorius excessibus apostolico se conspectui exhiberet. Tunc archiepiscopus dolens et anxius ad curiam est profectus. Comitati sunt eum: Vita diaconus, qui postea fuit primicerius,¹ et Petrus, nepos Murigii, diaconus. Contra ipsum vero directus est Vulcasius. Pauci de canonicis fovebant archiepiscopum, plures et maiores erant contra eum. Itaque archiepiscopus Romam veniens proiecit se ad pedes domini Honorii pape lacrimabilem proponens querelam de infestatione legati. Sed dominus papa de omnibus excessibus archiepiscopi plene instructus, cepit eum multum dure increpare de insolentiis et temeritatibus suis. Archiepiscopus vero nitebatur excusare se, imponens Roberto consecratori suo, quasi ex ipsius mandato presumpsisset sine pallio pontificalia celebrare. Sed non satis sibi credebatur a papa. Cardinales fere omnes adversabantur ei, ita ut vix eorum auderet presentie comparere. Canonici vero qui eum fuerant comitati, videntes causam archiepiscopi fore gravissimam et quia depositionis nota iam conscripta erat contra eum, relinquentes ipsum in curia ad propria sunt reversi. Guncellus vero ibi remanens multa supplicatione pulsabat, ut de suis excessibus misericorditer ageretur. Tanta ergo fuit precum instantia, tam importunus labor, ut revocaretur prior sententia, et conscriberetur altera mitior; videlicet ut biennio maneret suspensus, postea de misericordia sedis apostolice fieret in omnibus restitutus. Quod et factum est.

Interim vero legatus Acontius in Bosnam contra hereticos profectus, multo ibi tempore pro statu catholice fidei laboravit.²

His temporibus factus est terremotus magnus et orribilis³ in die Nativitatis Domini circa horam tertiam, per Liguriam, Emil-

¹ Vita is mentioned as *primicerius* around 1228/9 (CD 3: 301, 328).

² Acontius left for Bosnia in 1221, as is evident from the letter of Pope Honorius III to Archbishop John of Esztergom (CD 3: 198–9).

³ The earthquake hit Liguria on 25 December 1222.

from all pontifical duties and ordered him to appear before the pope to answer for his transgressions. Thereupon the archbishop set out for the curia, distressed and grieved. He was accompanied by Deacon Vita, who was afterwards *primicerius*,¹ and Deacon Peter, the nephew of Murigius. Vukaš was appointed to speak against him. Few of the canons took the side of the archbishop; the majority and the senior men were against him. And so the archbishop arrived at Rome and threw himself at the feet of Pope Honorius, setting forth his pathetic complaint against the legate's attacks. But when the pope had been fully informed about all the archbishop's excesses, he began to rebuke him very harshly for his arrogance and rashness. The archbishop, for his part, did his best to excuse himself, laying the blame on Robert, who had consecrated him, claiming that by his mandate he had presumed to exercise the pontifical rights and functions before receiving the *pallium*. But the pope did not really believe this. Almost all the cardinals were opposed to Guncel, so that he hardly dared to appear in their presence. As for the canons who had accompanied him, when they saw that the archbishop's case appeared extremely grave and that a letter of deposition had already been drawn up against him, they abandoned him at the curia and left for home. Guncel, however, remained and entreated beseechingly that he be dealt with mercifully with regard to his transgressions. So great was the insistence of his pleas, so tireless his efforts, that the earlier sentence was revoked and another more lenient one was drawn up: he was to remain suspended for two years, but afterwards, by the mercy of the Holy See, everything would be restored to him. And so indeed it came about.

Meanwhile the legate Acontius departed for Bosnia to combat the heretics, and labored there for a long time to strengthen the Catholic faith.²

At this time there occurred a great and terrifying earthquake.³ It struck on Christmas Day at about the third hour throughout

iam et per marchiam Veneticam, ita ut multa edificia ad terram ruerent, civitas vero Brixiana ex magna parte sui prostrata est multaque hominum multitudo et maxime hereticorum¹ oppressa est et extincta.

Eodem anno in die assumptionis Dei Genitricis,² cum essem Bononie in studio, vidi sanctum Franciscum³ predicantem in platea ante pallatium publicum, ubi tota pene civitas convenerat. Fuit autem exordium sermonis eius: angeli, homines, demones. De his enim tribus spiritibus rationalibus ita bene et diserte proposuit, ut multis litteratis, qui aderant, fieret admirationi non modice sermo hominis ydiote nec tamen ipse modum predicantis tenuit, sed quasi contionantis. Tota vero verborum eius discurrebat materies ad extinguendas inimicitias et ad pacis federa reformanda. Sordidus erat habitus, persona contemptibilis et facies indecora. Sed tantam Deus verbis illius contulit efficaciam, ut multe tribus nobilium, inter quas antiquarum inimiciarum furor immanis multa sanguinis effusione fuerat debachatus, ad pacis consilium reducerentur. Erga ipsum vero tam magna erat reverentia hominum et devotio, ut viri et mulieres in eum catervatim ruerent, satagentes vel fimbriam eius tangere, aut aliquid de paniculis eius auferre.

Sed iam ad propositum redeamus. Transcurso autem punitio-
nis sue biennio, venit Guncellus ad ecclesiam suam misitque
ad curiam et restitutum est ei pallium,⁴ quod ab Acontio fuerat
interdictum. Tunc archiepiscopus non equis aspiciebat oculis
omnes canonicos, qui sibi fuerant adversati.

¹ Thomas was aware of the fact that Brescia, just like most northern Italian cities, harboured heretical movements of the type of "Poor Christians."

² 15 August 1222.

³ St. Francis of Assisi (1182–1226).

Liguria, Emilia and the march of Venice, and was so violent that many buildings were thrown to the ground. Indeed, most of the city of Brescia was leveled and a great number of people, especially heretics,¹ were crushed and killed.

In that same year on the day of the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin,² when I was studying at Bologna, I saw Saint Francis³ preaching in the square in front of the town hall, and almost the entire city had gathered there. His sermon began with the subject "Angels, men, demons." About these three rational spirits, indeed, he preached so well and so wisely that many educated men who were present marveled not a little at the words of this simple man. Nevertheless, he did not possess the manner of a preacher but, as it were, simply of someone speaking openly and spontaneously. The whole theme of his words dealt at length with the subjects of extinguishing enmities and reestablishing the bonds of peace. His clothing was shabby, his appearance mean, and his face unsightly, but God had bestowed such great effect upon his words that many noble clans, among whom the savage passion of ancient enmities had raged furiously with great outpouring of blood, were led back once more to peaceful ways. In fact, the veneration and devotion that people had for him were so great that men and women would rush in throngs to him, struggling to touch the hem of his garments or snatch a piece of his rags.

But to return now to our previous subject. When his two years' chastisement had passed, Guncel returned to his church. He sent word to the curia, and the *pallium*⁴ that Acontius had withheld from him was restored. Thenceforth, the archbishop looked with hostile eyes upon all the canons who had been opposed to him.

⁴ Guncel received the *pallium* on 27 July 1223 (CD 3: 229–30), two years after the request of Canon Vukaš (CD 3: 197–8).

Eo tempore mortuus est Gruptius archidiaconus. In cuius locum canonici elegerunt Cataldum, intronizantes eum, archiepiscopo tunc absente. Regressus vero archiepiscopus indigne tulit promotionem Cataldi; numquam vero confirmationem archidiaconatus sui ab eo potuit optinere. Erat autem Cataldus iam etate grandevus, nec toto peracto biennio mortis debitum solvit.

XXVII. DE VICTORIA FACTA DE CETINENSIBUS

Per idem ferme tempus Spalatenses eiecerunt Domaldum de comitatu et fecerunt sibi comitem quendam nobilem virum de Luca,¹ nomine Buisenum.²

Erant autem quidam Cetinenses,³ Budimir cum fratribus suis, homines feroces et qui numquam in pace vivere sinerent Spalatenses, semper enim velud rapaces lupi caulis ovium insidiantes,⁴ non nisi de sanguine vivere appetebant. Vix enim dies unus immunis poterat transire ab eis, quo minus in campum nostrum irruerent, homines opprimerent, animalia predarentur. Nam quod erat immanissimi sceleris, cuncta hec perpetrabant facinora consilio et favore quorundam perniciosorum civium, qui emolumentum aliquod ex illis predonibus expectabant. Eorum etenim animalia signata erant, propter quod hostes ea pretereuntes ad rapienda alia convolabant.

Hoc est quod maxime ad communem spectat pernitiem, cum in una civitate dissimiliter vivitur et cum hostis publicus privatum habetur amicus, cum nec bellum communiter geritur nec pax unanimiter observatur. Illi siquidem urbi proximum paratur excidium, ubi regunt patriam patrie proditores, ubi celsio-

¹ Luka was the county in the immediate hinterland of Zadar and Nin.

² Višen is mentioned as the count of Split from March 1221 to March 1223 (CD 3: 190, 202, 210, 226).

At that time Grupče the archdeacon died. In his place the canons elected Cataldus, enthroning him in the archbishop's absence. When the archbishop returned, however, he was most indignant at the advancement of Cataldus; indeed, Cataldus never succeeded in obtaining from him confirmation of his office. However, by this time Cataldus was a very aged man, and not fully two years elapsed before he passed away.

27 A VICTORY OVER THE MEN OF CETINA

Around the same time the Spalatins drove out Domald from the comital office and made a certain nobleman from Luka¹ named Višen² their count.

Now among the men of Cetina³ were Budimir and his brothers, savage men who never allowed the Spalatins to live in peace. They were like rapacious wolves lurking by the sheepfold,⁴ with no desire to live except by bloodshed. Scarcely a day passed that they did not descend upon our plain, attacking the people and stealing the animals. The most monstrous part of the wickedness was this: they carried out all these outrages with the advice and support of certain evil-minded citizens who looked for some advantage from these plunderers. Thus their own animals, which had been branded, were passed over, and the enemy resorted to seizing others.

It is this that most especially tends towards common destruction, when within the same city people lead contrary lives, and that the public enemy is treated in private as a friend; when war is not waged in common nor peace kept by all of one accord. And that city is ripe for destruction where traitors to their homeland rule that homeland, where those who plunder the

³ There is no other evidence on these events, which are usually dated to 1222.

⁴ Cf. Matt. 7: 15.

rem locum optinent civium predatores et cum in ipsos foret acrius vindicandum, ipsi e contra ad innoxios cives vindictam retorquent. Tam misera tunc erat conditio Spalatensium, quia nullum intra se regimen opportunum habebant.

Igitur Budimiro, qua dignus erat morte perempto, Chranislaus, successor fraterne nequitie, cepit in nostris molestationibus simili rapacitate crassari. Reliquerat autem Buisenus comes quasi viginti equites ad auxilium Spalatensibus contra hostes. Ipse vero reversus ad propria domi manebat.

Factum est autem, ut die quadam Chranislaus armata equitum turma in campum irruerent diripientes et predantes quecumque occurrissent eisdem. Et tunc exierunt Spalatenses armati cum predictis equitibus Buiseni comitis. Predones vero videntes multitudinem de civitate concurrere, receperunt se paulatim ad montes, predam, quam ceperant, coram se minantes. Postquam autem interpositis montibus disparuerunt, quidam ex nostris volebant illos insequi, quidam non. Sed equites comitis et equites Spalatenses, qui erant fortasse totidem, cohortantes se invicem, ascenderunt post eos. Secuti autem eos sunt et non pauci ex peditibus, qui audatiores et expeditiores erant. Et cum ascendissent et castrum de Clissa transissent, perambulantes ulterius invenerunt hostes in quadam convalle, que erat undique collibus circumvallata nec satis libera patebat via ad partem aliquam divertendi. Descenderant autem iam securi et quiescebant in pratis. Ut autem viderunt hostes sua vestigia insequentes, statim ascenderunt equos et sese ad pugnandum ordinare ceperunt. Nostri vero videntes eos ad prelium preparari in se paululum substiterunt. Et primo quidem paventes ancipiti se fato committere cogitabant declinare potius quam pugnare. Quidam enim ex eis dicebant: «Non consulte agimus, si prop-

citizens hold the highest offices, and although it is they who ought to be pursued most fiercely, they on the contrary inflict punishment on innocent citizens. So wretched was the condition of Split at that time, because the citizens had no proper government among themselves.

After Budimir had died a death that he well deserved, Hranislav, his equally villainous brother, began to act with like rapacity in carrying out raids against us. Count Višen had left some twenty horsemen to aid Split against the enemy. He himself, meanwhile, returned home and remained there.

Now it happened that one day Hranislav, with a troop of armed horsemen, swooped down onto the plain, robbing and plundering whomsoever that they encountered. Then the Spalatins marched out in arms together with the twenty horsemen of Count Višen. The bandits, when they saw the crowd charging out from the city, gradually withdrew to the mountains, driving before them the animals that they had seized. As they passed from view behind the mountains, some of our men wanted to pursue them, while others did not. But the count's horsemen and the Spalatin ones, who were about equal in number, urged each other on to ride into the mountains after them. Quite a number of foot-soldiers, the bolder and readier, followed them. As they ascended they passed the castle of Klis, and continued until they came upon the enemy in an enclosed valley, which was surrounded on all sides by hills, with no easy way of escape in any direction. The bandits, already feeling secure, had by now dismounted and were resting in the meadow. But as soon as they saw their enemy following in their tracks, they mounted their horses at once and started to draw up in battle array. Now when our men saw that the enemy were preparing for battle, they came to a halt and hesitated a while. At first, they were afraid to involve themselves where the outcome was uncertain, and thought about turning aside rather than fighting. For some of them said, "We shall hardly be acting wisely if we

ter modicam predam hanc nosmet ipsos ponimus in discrimen.» Alias autem instante metu hostili difficiliter videbatur eis posse descendere, unde ascenderant, quia ita erat locus conclusus, ut nulla daretur tuta via cedentibus. Erat autem vir ille, sub quo militabant equites comitis, monocus quidem, sed valde strenuus multumque exercitatus in armis. Is ergo, ut vidit agmen suum aliquantis per musitando cunctari, facta corona stetit in medio et dixit: «Quid cunctamini, viri prudentes? Ecce victoria nobis in manibus est, si preliari volumus, si vero declinare intendimus, spes nulla vivendi. Deliberate igitur, quid consultius est, ignominiose mori an vincere gloriose? Maior nobis armorum copia, melior pugnantium turma. Ipsi etiam hostes hoc optime sciunt, nec proponunt se nobiscum fortitudine sed sagacitate pugnare. Impetum enim contra vos facturi sunt, quasi insuetos belli deterrendo, putant enim vos in fugam vertere. Sed si videbunt vos ad conflictum stare fortiter preparados, credite mihi, quia cito nobis terga ostendent. State ergo constanter et pugnite viriliter, de morte intrepidi, de triumpho securi.»

Talibus itaque dictis cohortatus suos, cepit ordinare pedites in turma sua, equites vero disposuit in acie sua, dans mandatum his, qui debebant precedere vel subsequi, ut omnes ad ducis vexillum respicerent. Igitur omnibus oportune dispositis, statim contra hostes signa vertentes, ceperunt paulatim incedere. At vero hostes videntes nostrorum audaciam statim magno impetu admissis equis currunt fortiter contra eos. Nostri vero conglobati primo peditum turma ceperunt stare erigentes lanceas, alii vero venabula terre affigentes, parati erant excipere venientes, alii vero intentis arcubus parabant sagittas emittere, alii gladiis

put ourselves at risk over no great amount of plunder." Besides, with the threat of the enemy at hand it appeared to them to be even more difficult to go down the way that they had come up, because the place was so enclosed that no way would be safe if they were retreating. Now the man under whom the count's knights served had only one eye; but he was a fine soldier with much experience in warfare. So when he saw that his company was murmuring and hesitating, he called them to him and stood in their midst and said, "You men of good sense, what are you waiting for? Behold, victory is in our hands, if only we are willing to fight. Whereas if we intend to withdraw, there is no hope of survival. Consider, therefore, what is the better course: to die shamefully or to win gloriously? We have the greater supply of arms, the better band of warriors. Indeed, the enemy themselves know this full well, and do not intend to fight us boldly but with cunning. What they plan to do is make a charge against us, to frighten us as if we are unaccustomed to warfare. They think that we will turn and flee. But if they see that we are prepared to stand and meet them bravely, believe me, they will soon show us their backs. Therefore, stand firm and fight manfully, have no fear of death, and be assured of triumph!"

And so, after he had exhorted his men in such words, he set about lining them up, the foot-soldiers in their ranks and mounted warriors in their line of battle; and he instructed them, whether leading or following, that they should all keep their eyes on their leader's banner. Thereupon, when all were suitably drawn up, they immediately turned their banners in the direction of the enemy and began to advance at a measured pace. But the enemy, when they saw our show of spirit, at once spurred on their horses and charged at full gallop in our direction. Our men, however, closed ranks. First the band of foot-soldiers stood their ground with lances raised. Some drove their hunting spears into the ground, ready to meet the charge. Others bent their bows in readiness to discharge their arrows. Still others drew their swords. The cavalry, meanwhile, standing on

agere equites autem hinc inde stantes, astasque eminus intentantes, quasi turris fortissima et munitum presidium totius exercitus apparebant.¹ Cum autem vidissent hostes, quod nostrorum acies immobiliter in suo loco constarent, non audentes irruere eminus substiterunt. Tunc dux nostri exercitus clamavit dicens: «Eia viri fortes, hec est hora de hostibus vindicari.» Et cepit ipse precedere et totus exercitus ipsum sequi. Nec mora, statim in hostium phalangas irrupit, immixtique sunt simul et ceperunt manus inserere strictisque mucronibus dimicare. Stetit aliquandiu anceps victoria. Tunc cepit dux ipse urgere Chranislaum, nunc clava, nunc ense ictus ictibus inculcando. Ipse nichilominus, ut bellicosus vir, modo ictus clipeo eludebat, modo hostem totis viribus feriebat. Sed erigens se dux noster totus in ensem, percussit Chranislaum acerrime venitque ictus inter cassidem et collarium deiecitque caput eius multum procul a corpore et mox truncus ab equo corruens iacuit prostratus in terra. Nec amplius pugna duravit, sed omnes Cetinenses in fugam versi campum certaminis Spalatensibus reliquerunt. Qui eos a tergo insequentes cedebant passim per campos fugitantes persecutique sunt eos usque ad montis ascensum. Redeuntes autem patrata victoria acceperunt caput Chranislavi et affixum aste detulerunt usque Salonam. Sicque cum exultatione maxima ad propria sunt reversi. Et ita pestis illa a nostra infestatione cessavit.

XXVIII. DE COMITE PETRO

Post hec autem ingens bellum exortum est inter Gregorium comitem Berberiensem² et Buysenum comitem Spalatensem. Manebat autem Buysenus in Suinigrado³ et licet esset vir nobi-

¹ Cf. Isa. 2: 15.

² Count Gregory was the most powerful member of the Croatian aristocratic kindred of the counts of Bribir (since the fourteenth century called the Šubići) during the first half of the thirteenth century. The conflict to which Thomas is referring here is usually dated to 1223; see Karbić, *The Šubići*, pp. 34–8, 148–50.

³ Zvonigrad was the main royal castle of Odorje, the county situated on the southern slopes of Mount Velebit around the upper flow of the River

either side and brandishing their spears from afar, gave the appearance of a mighty tower and most secure stronghold of the whole army.¹ However, when the enemy saw that our line of troops stood unwavering in their ranks, they did not dare to press the charge, but halted at a distance. Then the leader of our army cried, "Hurrah, brave men! This is the hour to avenge ourselves against the enemy." He began to lead the advance, and the whole army followed him. Without delay he plunged immediately into the enemy's lines, the two sides clashed, and they set to fighting hand to hand with drawn swords. For some time the victory hung in the balance. Then our leader began to press hard upon Hranislav himself, dealing him blow upon blow, now with a mace, now with a sword. Nevertheless, Hranislav, a warlike man, now warded off the blows with his shield, and now struck his enemy with all his strength. But then our leader raised himself up and with all his force dealt Hranislav a mighty blow with all the force that he could put in his sword. The blow caught him between his helmet and the neckband; his head went spinning far away from his body, and his trunk toppled from his horse and lay flat upon the earth. The conflict lasted no longer. The men of Cetina all turned in flight, abandoning the field of battle to the Spalatins. The Spalatins pursued them from behind and struck them down as they fled through the fields in all directions, and continued to pursue them up to the approach of the mountain. Then victory having been achieved, they turned back. They picked up the head of Hranislav, fixed it on a spear, and bore it back to Solin. And so with great rejoicing they returned home. And thus this scourge ceased to plague us any longer.

28 COUNT PETER

After this a great war broke out between Count Gregory of Bribir² and Count Višen of Split. Višen lived in Zvonigrad;³ and

Zrmanja, near present-day Ervenik. It controlled the way from the region of Lika to Knin and Dalmatia. Its ruins are still extant.

lis, dives et potens, fautor tamen hereticorum erat. Cum autem dissensionum procella inter ipsum et Gregorium multo tempore desevisset et assiduus congressionibus partes ad deteriora vergere cogerentur, pars tamen Buyseni superior videbatur. Erant autem ambo una stirpe progeniti.

Quodam namque tempore Buysenus cum exercitu suo erat circa Berberium diffusus, eratque Gregorius intra suum presidium undique coartatus ita, ut nulli egredi vel ingredi liceret. Gregorius qui nimis erat callidus et astutus, positus insidiis valde diluculo, cum non bene vigiles precavissent, repente irruit in castra Buyseni et antequam arma bene capere potuissent, ceperunt magnam cedem ex hostibus facere, ipsumque Buysenum ceperunt vivum. Et cum ante Gregorium adductus fuisset, cepit pro vita sua misericordiam deprecari. Sed Gregorius, ut erat vir austerus et cervicosus, nil flexus ad supplicis verba captivi, dixit astantibus: «Exuite ipsum lorica.» Et cum seipsum exueret, Gregorius arrepto ense transfodit eum per media ilia dicens: «Talis misericordia fieri debet de Buyseno, qui me totiens armis hostilibus instigavit.»

Tunc Spalatenses prefecerunt sibi comitem Petrum¹ quendam, qui erat dominus Chulmie. Erat autem idem Petrus vir potens et bellicosus, sed non sine infamia heretice feditatis. Quam ob rem non recipiebatur a clero. Sed layci, ut sunt ad temeritatem precipites, facto impetu venerunt ad ecclesiam cum grandi tumultu et raptis clavibus a custode, introduxerunt eum in ecclesiam violenter. Que res, postquam ad aures Acontii pervenit, misit et totam civitatem interdicto supposuit. Cessatum est autem a divinis fere per annum. Guncellus autem archiepiscopus erat eo tempore in Hungariam profectus. Sed ad ecclesiam suam rediens, non satis discrete absolvit interdictum legati.

¹ Count Peter of Hum became the count of Split in 1224 or 1225 and held that post until 1227.

although he was noble, rich and powerful, he was nevertheless a protector of heretics. After the dispute between Gregory and himself had raged for a long time, both parties were perforce weakened by their frequent clashes, although the party of Višen appeared stronger. In fact, both were descended from the same lineage.

Now at a certain time, Višen and his army had spread out around Bribir, and Gregory was within his citadel, confined on all sides so that there was no way in or out. Then Gregory, who was very crafty and clever, arranged a surprise attack to take place right at the very break of dawn, when the sentries were least on their guard. Gregory's men burst suddenly into Višen's camp before they were able to grab their weapons, and made a great slaughter of the enemy. Višen himself was seized alive. When he was led before Gregory he began to plead for mercy and for his life. But Gregory was a hard and stiff-necked man, and was not moved by the entreaties of his captive. He said to those standing nearby, "Take off his armor." And when he, Višen, took it off, Gregory seized his sword and plunged it through his groin, saying, "So much pity should there be for Višen, who has so often provoked me with arms."

Then the Spalatins appointed a certain Peter,¹ the lord of Hum, as their count. Peter was, to be sure, a powerful and warlike man, but not free from the foul disgrace of heresy. For this reason he was not accepted by the clergy. But the laity, ever quick to rash actions, came to the church in force and with great uproar, and seizing the keys from the keeper they led Peter forcibly into the church. When news of this affair reached the ears of Acontius, he placed the entire city under interdict, and divine services were not held for nearly a year. Archbishop Guncel at that time had departed for Hungary, but when he returned to his church, with considerable lack of discretion he lifted the legate's interdict.

Interea legatus Acontius in Bosnam profectus pro exterminandis hereticis multo ibi tempore laboravit. Erat autem corpore imbecilus, sed zelo catholice fidei validus propugnator. Cum ergo forti fuisset languore correptus, ad extrema perveniens totum se domino commendavit. Ibique sue vite cursum feliciter peregit anno millesimo CCXXII.¹

XXIX. DE BELLO, QUOD GESTUM EST PRO VILLA DE OSTROGO

Per idem tempus quidam Chroate Tollen, Vilceta, filii Butco, cum parentela sua, invaserunt villam sancti Domnii, que appellatur Ostrog,² ceperuntque contra prohibitionem civium munimen edificare, volentes ibi cum familiis suis locum habitationis statuere, ut possent impune consueta latrocinia exercere. Dicebant autem, se esse coheredes loci ipsius. Archiepiscopus vero, ut eos colonos et coadiutores haberet, consensum corde simplici adhibebat.

Tunc Spalatenses preparationem belli ceperunt facere contra eos.³ Miserunt ergo et advocaverunt comitem suum Petrum, qui veniens cum magno equitum comitatu fecit totam expeditionem exercitus per mare et per terram applicare ad castrum. Fuitque recensitus civitatis exercitus, et inventa sunt plus quam tria millia armatorum. Tunc ceperunt pugnare fortiter circa castrum. E contra vero Chroate in rupibus circumfusi, lapidibus, iaculis et sagittis fortiter repugnabant. Spalatenses vero videntes eos loci munitione defendi ad aliarum se pugnandi maneriem

¹ The date is problematic. A letter of Pope Honorius III was sent to Acontius on 27 July 1223 (CD 3: 229–30), and one of 15 May 1225 to the archbishop of Kalocsa refers to him as already dead. Thus, Acontius' death occurred between these two dates.

² Ostrog was a settlement of Croatian lesser noblemen. It had an important position among the settlements of *Podmorje* (the medieval name of the area between Split and Trogir). It is mentioned in many charters, the oldest

Meanwhile, the legate Acontius set out for Bosnia, where he worked for a long time to root out heretics. He was frail in body but a strong and zealous champion of the Catholic faith. Subsequently, he was seized with a severe illness, and reaching the point of death he commended himself entirely to the Lord. And so the term of his life came to an end felicitously in the year of our Lord 1222.¹

29 THE WAR THAT WAS WAGED FOR THE VILLAGE OF OSTROG

At the same time, some Croats—Toljen and Vučeta, the sons of Butko, along with their kinsmen—invaded a village called Ostrog² belonging to Saint Domnius, and began to erect a fortification, despite the citizens' prohibition. They wanted to build a place to live there with their households, in order that they might be able to carry on their customary brigandage with impunity. They claimed that they were the coheirs of the place. The archbishop, moreover, thinking that he would have them as settlers and supporters, gave his assent, out of the simplicity of his heart.

Thereupon, the Spalatins began to make preparations for war against them.³ They sent word to Count Peter calling for his assistance, and Count Peter came accompanied by a large retinue of horsemen. He directed the whole army by sea and by land to the stronghold. Reviewing the forces of the city, he found that there were more than three thousand men under arms. Then they engaged in spirited battle around the stronghold. However, the Croats for their part, having dispersed themselves along the cliffs, fought back fiercely with stones, missiles, and arrows. When the Spalatins saw that the Croats were protected by their naturally well-fortified position, they resorted to a dif-

authentic one being from 1171. The archbishopric of Split considered it as its own estate, which made it a reason for conflict with Trogir, which also claimed rights there. The persons mentioned are otherwise not known.

³ This conflict is dated to 1226.

converterunt. Protinus ergo coadunata multorum lignorum frondiumque congerie ignem sub ipsis rupibus succenderunt, ex quo fumifera se subrigens flamma, hostes obcecat; crates et tabulata, que ad sui protectionem paraverant, exuruntur. Tunc audatiores iuvenes ex nostris videntes eos viribus armisque deficere conabantur ad eos inter ignes ascendere, gladiis ipsos invadere perquirentes. Sed illi ex eminenti rupe ingentes lapides revolventes quosdam ex nostris miserabiliter deiecerunt ita, ut decedentes in ignem, confracti et perusti animas exhalarent.

Taliter equidem aliquot diebus ab utraque parte pugnatum est. Sed deficientibus iam alimoniis, frustra miseri, viribus corporeis destituti, repugnare posse confidunt, sed paulo post ad deditionem faciendam intendunt. Verum antequam deliberarent ad plenum, ecce cuneus unus ex fortissimis iuvenibus, alii reptantes manibus, alii per occultas semitas subito castrum invadunt. Tunc comes Petrus cum tota militia, respicientes in altum, vident suos iam stantes in rupibus manu ad manum cum hostibus dimicare. Et statim comes exclamat: «Nunc currite viri, quoniam victoriam dedit nobis Deus de inimicis nostris.» Ad hanc vocem omnes irrumpunt castrumque per violentiam capiunt. Mox vero universos hostes cum uxoribus et filiis apprehendentes vinctis post tergum manibus pertraxerunt ad suos. Tunc inito consilio cuncta, que eorum fuerant, diripientes, ecclesiam quoque, cuius se fundatores fore iactabant, ad solum diruentes, effoderunt sepulcra, extumulantes ossa progenitorum eorum, sparsim ea proiecerunt in campum, quatenus ius nullum eiusdem ville aliquando vendicarent. Tragurienses autem auxilium nostratibus impenderunt, sed modicum et exile. Tunc vinctis a tergo manibus ad civitatem duxere captivos, artissima eos custodia mancipantes. Ubi triduo sine cura iacentes tum famis sitisque tabescentia resoluti, tum carceris squalore suffocati, plures eorum ibidem expirarunt.

ferent tactic. Straight away they gathered a mass of wood and green branches and lit a fire under the cliffs. The smoke and flames rising up blinded the enemy, and the wooden structure that they had erected for their defense caught fire. Then the more daring of our young men, when they saw that the enemy were weakened and short of arms, tried to climb up through the flames and attack them with their swords. But the enemy rolled huge stones from a high projecting cliff, which sent some of our unfortunate young men hurtling down into the fire, where they were crushed or burnt to death.

Each side fought in this way for some days. But as supplies began to run out, the men were in a sorry state, their bodily strength exhausted; they vainly thought that they could still hold out, but not long afterwards they decided to surrender. But before they had fully considered it, suddenly one troop of our bravest young men, some crawling on their hands, some along hidden paths, attacked the stronghold. Then Count Peter and his entire army looked up and saw their comrades standing on the cliffs and engaged in hand-to-hand fighting with the enemy. At once the count shouted, "Rush ahead, men, for God has given us victory over our enemies." At this cry they all burst into the fortress and seized it by force. Soon, indeed, they had seized the entire enemy forces, together with their wives and children, and marched them over to our side with their hands behind their backs. Then after deliberation they seized all their possessions and even demolished the church, of which they boasted of being the founders; they dug up the tombs, took the bones of their ancestors from their graves, and strewed them over the field. This was so that they might never again at any time claim a right to that village. The Tragurins also supplied aid to our countrymen, but it was feeble and inadequate. Then they led the prisoners with their hands bound behind their backs to the city, placing them under the strictest guard. After lying there for three days without attention, weakened and exhausted from hunger and thirst, and choked by the filth of the prison, many of them died.

XXX. DE BELLO, QUOD GESTUM EST CUM DOMALDO

His ita gestis Petrus comes ad propria reversus morabatur in Chulmia. Civitas vero Spalatensis, quia sine rectore manebat, in bono statu esse non poterat. Templarii autem, sicut rex preceperat, castrum Clisie tenebant.¹ Spalatensibus autem, quibus plerumque solent utilia displicere et inutilia complacere, verti cepit in tedium quietis pacisque bonum. Tunc multas oblocutionum calumpnias contra templarios concinnantes ceperunt multifarie moliri, ut de castro illis exeuntibus eorum vicinitatem modestam ac sobriam evitarent. Sicque factum est, ut illis egressis statim Domaldus² Spalatensium auxilio et favore castrum illud optinuit. Quis tam mente captus cecusque interioribus oculis haberetur, ut inermem religionem contempneret, et armatum inimicum affectaret super caput sibi imponi? Cum ergo Domaldus castrum illud securus iam insideret, cepit a principio, utpote versutus et cautus, simulare bene se velle cum Spalatensibus vivere. Attamen dolorem, quem pro sua delectione conceperat, callide dissimulans, explorabat tempus, quando suam posset iniuriam vindicare. Sed quia plura facinora Spalatenses communiter in Deum commiserant, que communi erant pena plectenda, idcirco Domaldi machinationes sortiri potuerunt effectum. Cum enim absque reatu periurii non potuissent ipsum Domaldum de comitatu eiecisse, nec sine sacrilegio Petrum comitem contra prohibitionem ecclesie intrusisse,³ ad ultimum hoc piaculum publice commiserunt.⁴

Erat autem quidam sacerdos pauper et simplex. Hunc cum quidam Sclavus forensis super debitis impeteret, curiam laycal-

¹ See above, pp. 160–3.

² The deposed count of Split. See above, pp. 180–1.

³ See above, pp. 188–9.

⁴ This act seems to refer broadly to Domald's occupation of Klis, and specifically to the consequent fate of Kaceta and the others, which in turn is linked to the latter's treatment of the poor priest.

30 THE WAR WAGED AGAINST DOMALD

After these exploits, Count Peter returned to live in his home in Hum. The city of Split could not remain in good state, because it lacked a governor. Now the castle of Klis was held by the Templars, as the king had commanded.¹ The Spalatins, however, who are generally displeased by useful things and pleased by useless ones, began to tire of the blessings of peace and quiet. They then began to invent many complaints and slanders against the Templars and to see to it in various ways that they avoided contact with their well-behaved and sober neighbors whenever these went out from their castle. And so it happened that on a certain occasion, after those men had gone out, Domald,² aided and abetted by the Spalatins, at once seized the castle. Would one imagine that people would be so deluded in their thinking, so inwardly blind that they would treat with scorn a harmless religious order and would strive to have an armed enemy inflicted upon their heads? Now Domald, once in secure possession of the castle, began at first—being a crafty and cautious man—to pretend that he was willing to live on good terms with the Spalatins; nevertheless, the resentment that he harbored for his own ejection he cleverly concealed, and he bided his time until he might avenge this insult. But because the Spalatins as a group had committed many crimes against God, which called for atonement by a common punishment, for that reason alone the intrigues of Domald were able to succeed. For it was only by making themselves guilty of perjury that they had been able to eject Domald from the comital office, and guilty of sacrilege when they installed Peter in the face of the church's prohibition.³ So thus they publicly committed their last crime in common.⁴

There was a poor and simple priest. And a certain Slav, an outsider, seeking recovery of certain debts against him, entered the

em intravit, querelam deposuit. Vocatus sacerdos venit, privilegium allegavit, sed quidam nobilis, Caceta nomine,¹ surgens de consessu curie dedit alapam in faciem presbyteri et alligans eum in conspectu omnium, tradidit ad manus impetitoris sui.

Et ecce, die tertio in festo omnium sanctorum² rumor venit ad civitatem, quod aliqui predones in campum intrassent. Subito autem tota civitas ad arma cucurrit. Et venerunt trans pontem Salone. Descenderunt autem pauci admodum equites Domaldi de Clissa. Et statim multitudo illa in fugam versa huc illucque dispersa est. Et tunc capti sunt plures de nobilibus et divitibus civitatis, videlicet Caceta, Duimus Formini,³ Leonardus Cavalis, Jacobus Dusciza, Crisogonus et alii plusquam LX et non sine ignominia in castrum ad Domaldum delati sunt.

Eadem nocte misit Domaldus ad caulas Spalatensium, et abstulit fere triginta millia ovium, homines vero compedibus astrictos custodie deputavit, quos longa inedia pressuraque seva torquendo plurimam ab eis extorsit pecunie quantitatem. Sic ergo Spalatenses per annum ferme incarcerati, vix tandem cum magno rerum detrimento evadere potuerunt.

Post hec vero Colomannus filius Andree regis, dux Sclavonie, cum magno principum comitatu⁴ ad mare descendit et a Spala-

¹ Kaceta is mentioned as a respected Spalatin in the documents of 1234 (CD 3: 403, 431).

² 1 November 1225.

³ Duimus son of Forminus is mentioned in several documents as a respected citizen of Split. In one of them written by Thomas, who was at that time a notary (CD 3: 267–8), Duimus was a witness, while in later documents he was frequently mentioned as a judge (CD 4: 86, 113, 196, 271, 327, 347, 374). The other persons are not known from other sources.

⁴ Coloman (Hung. Kálmán), brother of Béla IV, was the second son of Andrew II and Gertrude of Andechs-Merania. He was born in 1208 and married Salome, daughter of Prince Leszek of Cracow, in 1215. In 1214, he was installed by his father, in cooperation with his Polish future father-in-law, as

lay court and lodged his complaint. The priest was summoned, and when he came he claimed benefit of clergy. However, a nobleman, named Kaceta,¹ rose from the sitting court, gave the priest a slap in the face, and in the view of everyone had him bound and handed over into the hands of his accuser.

And behold, on the third day after that, on the feast of All Saints,² a rumor reached the city that some brigands had entered the city's territory. At once the entire city ran for their weapons. They came across the bridge of Solin. Then a quite small number of Domald's horsemen came down from Klis. Immediately, then, the whole multitude turned to flight, and scattered this way and that. Many noble and wealthy men of the city were taken prisoner, namely Kaceta, Duimus son of Forminus,³ Leonard son of Caval, James Dušica, Chrysonogonus, and more than sixty others. They were taken, not without dishonor, to the castle to Domald.

That night Domald sent agents to raid the sheepfolds of Split, and carried off nearly 30,000 sheep. Then he had the captured men put in shackles and placed under guard. They were subjected to long starvation and harshly tortured, by which means Domald extorted a very large sum of money. Thus the men from Split were kept in prison for nearly a year, and only escaped at last with great loss of their possessions.

After this, Coloman, the son of King Andrew and duke of Slavonia, came to the coast with a great entourage of magnates⁴

the king of Halicz (*rex Galicie*) in 1214, and received a crown of gold from Pope Innocent III; see Augustin Theiner, *Vetera monumenta historica Hungariam sacram illustrantia*, I (Rome: Typis Vaticanis, 1859), no. 1, p. 1, and also see the genealogical table in Mór Wertner, *Az Árpádok családi története* (Nagy-Becskerek: Pleitz, 1892). Coloman held the position of the duke of Dalmatia and Croatia from 1226 to 1229, and that of the duke of all Slavonia from 1231 to his death from wounds incurred fighting the Mongols in 1241 (see below, ch. 36–7).

tensibus multum honorifice susceptus est.¹ Erat autem adhuc puer adolescens, nec tale quid ab eo gestum est, quod dignum memorie haberetur.

XXXI. DE SCANDALO, QUOD FACTUM EST INTER ARCHIEPISCOPUM ET ARCHIDIACONUM

Post hec autem anno Domini millesimo ducentesimo tricesimo vacante archidiaconatu capitulum et universus clerus in summa concordia elegerunt Thomam canonicum in archidiaconum suum tricesimo etatis sue anno,² archiepiscopo tunc absente Guncello. Cum vero fuisset reversus, presentatum pro confirmatione petenda archidiaconum primo admittere noluit, quippe cui numquam pene canonicorum facta, licet honesta, placebant. Postmodum vero, videns omnia de promotione archidiaconi rite ac canonice processisse et quia nulla erat scintilla discordie inter canonicos, ex qua posset refragrandi materiam finaliter invenire, assensum prebuit et dans suam benedictionem ei archidiaconatum confirmavit propriaque manu installavit eundem.

Erat autem archidiaconus competenti scientia peditus et in executione sui officii, prout ei possibile erat, satis fervidus et intentus. Amator iustitie, nequitie detestator nimioque zelabat affectu, ut sanctorum servarentur statuta et in ecclesiasticis negotiis secundum Deum totius iustitie vigeret norma.

Cum autem archiepiscopus in corrigendis subditorum excessibus se remissius ageret, archidiaconus, prout poterat, emendare enormia satagebat. Sed cum non satis cohercio archidiaconi circa morosos proficeret, nonnunquam pontificem desidie arguebat ipsum incitando et monendo, ut sicut pastor bonus super gregis sui custodia magis sollicite vigilaret. Sed quia iam ipse in

¹ His visit to Split is recorded in the charter that he granted there to the Traurins on 1 August 1226 (CD 3: 258–9).

² Thomas begins here to tell many details of his own life and career.

and was received with great honor by the Spalatins.¹ He was, however, still quite young, and nor did he do anything that would be thought worth recording.

31 THE SCANDAL THAT OCCURRED BETWEEN THE ARCHBISHOP AND THE ARCHDEACON

After this, in the year 1230, the chapter and the entire clergy in complete agreement elected the canon Thomas to the vacant archdeaconate in his thirtieth year.² Archbishop Guncel was not there at that time. When he returned, and the archdeacon was presented for confirmation, the archbishop at first did not wish to accept him. For the canons' actions, even though proper, were scarcely ever pleasing to him. But presently, when he saw that everything pertaining to the elevation of the archdeacon had proceeded canonically and according to prescribed custom, and that there was not the least trace of disagreement among the canons by which in the end he could find a pretext to oppose it, he gave his assent. He confirmed Thomas in the archdeaconate and gave him his blessing, placing him in the position with his own hand.

The archdeacon was indeed endowed with adequate knowledge, and eager and intent in the execution of his office, as far as it was possible for him. Loving justice and hating injustice, he was passionately devoted to upholding the precepts of the saints and ensuring that in church matters the rule of justice according to God prevailed fully.

But when the archbishop himself acted negligently in the matter of correcting the transgressions of his subordinates, the archdeacon tried as best he could to correct the outrages. But the archdeacon's strictures were not always effective against the wayward, and he sometimes reproved the archbishop for his inaction, urging and warning him that like a good shepherd he should keep watch over his flock with greater care. But by

torpore segnitiei sue senuerat, durum ei videbatur atemptare nova et suis moribus insueta. Sic ergo sollicitudo archidiaconi ad onus erat presuli, non ad levamen videbatur ministerii pastoralis. Unde non libenter cum ipso de causis ecclesiasticis conferebat, sed eos potius ad sui familiaritatem admittebat, qui de vanitate conveniebant in idipsum.

Sicque factum est, ut aliqui clericorum, hi maxime, qui defixi erant in fecibus suis, archidiacono infesti oppido haberentur. Eo enim odiorum hec causa succreverat, ut quos archidiaconus secundum debitum sui officii pro excessibus puniebat, archiepiscopus veniens in oprobrium archidiaconi absque ulla cause cognitione absolueret. Archidiaconus vero magnis dolorum stimulis angebatur, non pro eo quod presul ad derogationem dignitatis eius intenderet, sed quia evacuando ministerium archidiaconalis officii totus ecclesiastici ordinis cursus turbari et confundi videbatur. Erat enim certum animarum periculum et patens oprobrium ecclesie Dei, cum hi, qui pro enormitate sue vite puniendi erant, abiecto pudore de insontibus sumerent penas et ipsi licentius sua ludibria exercerent.

Factum est autem, ut quadam vice congregatis canonicis archiepiscopus diceret: «Volo, ut nullus vacet in ecclesia personatus.» Et tunc ordinatus est archipresbyter quidam Petrus, nepos Murigii.¹ Hic, quia erat factiosus homo et inquietus, cepit aperte derogare archidiacono persuadens simplicioribus et indiscretis et se quasi caput eorum constituens nitebatur debitam obedientiam subtrahere archidiacono et se ipsum quasi superiorem revereri querebat ab eis. Et sic feda nimis dissensio in capitulo est suborta. Archiepiscopus vero, cum se deberet tamquam murum opponere exardescendentibus odiis ex adverso et fraternam caritatem in filiis reformare, cepit factioso archipres-

¹ Murgia (in Thomas also mentioned as Murigius) was a respectable citizen of Split. He is mentioned in documents as a witness and as a judge (CD 3: 267, 438; CD 4: 196).

this time the archbishop had declined into listlessness and inactivity, and found it hard to change his ways and try what was new and unaccustomed. Thus, the concern of the archdeacon began to seem a burden to the archbishop and not a support in his ministry. As a result, he became reluctant to confer freely with the archdeacon about church matters, and preferred to admit into his confidence those who toadied to him.

And so it came to pass that some clerics, especially those mired in their own filth, were considered quite hostile to the archdeacon. The reason for this ill will arose because whenever the archdeacon punished someone for transgressions according to the obligation of his office, the archbishop would then come, and without inquiring into the facts of the matter, let them off, just to spite the archdeacon. The archdeacon was very pained, not because the archbishop's behavior threatened to demean his dignity, but because by weakening the authority of the archdeaconal office, the entire course of ecclesiastical order appeared to be disturbed and confused. For there was an unquestioned danger to souls and an evident disgrace to God's church when those who ought to have been punished for the irregularities of their lives shamelessly inflicted punishment on the innocent, that they themselves might more freely exercise their wantonness.

It happened, moreover, on one occasion that the archbishop assembled the canons and said to them, "I do not wish any office in the church to be vacant." And so Peter, the nephew of Murgia,¹ was ordained archpriest. He was a factious and restless man, and began openly to disparage the archdeacon, winning over the simpler and less discriminating and setting himself up as their head. He strove to withdraw their obligation of obedience to the archdeacon, and sought to have himself revered by them as if he were their superior. And thus an extremely ugly conflict arose in the chapter. The archbishop, who should have placed himself as a wall against the blazing hatred

byteri conventiculo favorem impendere, partem vero archidiaconi auctoritatis sue mole deprimere, quantum posset. Hoc enim magis placere sibi videbatur, si canonici sui dissiderent ab invicem, quam si forent in unitate concordēs. Videns autem archipresbyter, quod Guncellus sue parti accederet, ab archidiacono vero tota mentis esset intentione disiunctus, cepit eum magis ac magis in archidiaconum odiorum facibus inflammare. Ille vero, ut erat facilis ad credendum, et quia rancoris huius scintilla iam in eius erat corde perflata, libenter aures susurrationibus inclinabat. Et sic in archidiaconi periculum facti sunt cum archipresbytero concordēs ad invicem, qui prius numquam poterant concordare. Tunc ceperunt palam aggredi archidiaconum et post appellationem a se factam interdicti et excommunicationis in eum iacula intorquere. Et facta conspiratione, ad nihil aliud nisi ad ipsius perpetuam deiectionem laborare ceperunt. Ut autem in eum popularem concitarent tumultum, fecerunt omnes ecclesias claudi et ab omnibus cessare divinis. In tantum enim scandali huius excreverat malum, ut intra ecclesiam et extra ecclesiam non solum clamosis vocibus decertarent, sed etiam temerarias in se manus inicerent populique furentis insania modo hanc modo illam insequens partem, acerrimam seditionem in totam concitaverat civitatem. Canonici pene omnes contra archidiaconum erant. De nobilibus vero civitatis hi maxime, qui meliores et discretiores erant et maior pars cleri, archidiacono favebant.

Cum ergo propter dissensionis huius materiam tota videretur civitas in seditionem commota, metuens archidiaconus, ne forte aliquod inter cives facinus oriretur, cedendum tempori ratus, ad apostolicam sedem profectus est. Secuti sunt eum quattuor canonici fautores sui. Videns vero archiepiscopus, quod archidiaconus ad curiam proficiscitur, statim persuasus a complici-

on both sides and restored brotherly love among his sons, instead began to bestow his favor on the factious conventicle of the archpriest. And where he could, he worked to suppress the archdeacon's party by the weight of his authority. It seemed to please him more if his canons were quarrelling with each other than if they were united in harmony. When the archpriest saw that Guncel had come over to his side, that his mind was completely alienated from the archdeacon, the archpriest began to inflame him more and more with hatred against the archdeacon. The archbishop was a credulous man, and because a spark of rancor was already kindled in his heart, he willingly inclined his ear to the whisperings. And so, to the archdeacon's peril, men who could never agree before came to agreement with the archpriest. They then began to attack the archdeacon openly. Following an appeal made by him, the missiles of interdict and excommunication were hurled at him. They formed a plot and worked at nothing less than his permanent expulsion. Moreover, in order to provoke popular agitation against the archdeacon, they closed all the churches and stopped divine services. So great did this wicked scandal grow that not only was there quarrelling and shouting inside and outside the church but people were even laying hands on each other. The madness of the enraged populace, following now the one party and now the other, stirred up the most violent insurrection throughout the city. Almost all of the canons were against the archdeacon. However, the better and more prudent of the prominent men of the city, as well as the majority of the clergy, took the side of the archdeacon.

Now that the entire city seemed to be stirred into rebellion because of this conflict, the archdeacon, fearing that the citizens might resort to some criminal act, decided that the time had come for him to give in to circumstances, and he set out for the Holy See. Four canons who supported him went with him. When he saw that the archdeacon was setting out for the Curia, the archbishop, persuaded by his accomplices, immedi-

bus suis iter post ipsum arripuit profecturus. Secuta est eum canonicorum turba, que de malignitate cum ipso conveniebat. Prevenit autem eos Thomas diebus octo, non credens adhuc, quod tam vehementer odiorum flamma in eorum cordibus es-tuaret, ut tantum vellent se insequendo subire laborem. Quamquam ex precepto Guncelli condixissent inter se, ut nullus eum archidiaconum appellaret, sperabat autem, ut impetratis ab apostolica sede litteris ad propria remeans posset materiam scandali mitigare. Sed cum vidisset tantam multitudinem zelo nequitie inflammata contra se venientem, pavefactus a principio terreri cepit. Quid miri, cum ipse quasi solus esset, adversariorum vero tam numerosus exercitus, tanti nominis cetus, ut in his solis tota Spalatensis metropolis auctoritas dependeret. Erant enim archiepiscopus, archipresbyter, sacrista, primicerius et alii quam plures litteris muniti, testificationibus armati, nil aliud nisi archidiaconum toto ore glutire parantes. At ipse nullam habens aliunde fidutiam nisi ex Deo, qui facit iudicium omnibus iniuriam patientibus, de sola enim innocentie sue causa confisus, bono animo rerum exitum expectabat.

Erat autem tunc temporis dominus Gregorius papa nonus apud Perusium.¹ Itaque Thomas archidiaconus consilio et favore quorundam, quos numquam noverat, intromissus est ad papam, quando solus erat in camera cum vicecancellario tantum.² Et flexis genibus coram eo cepit cause sue seriem exponere diligenter. Ipse autem clementissimus pater benignam ei exhibuit audientiam et tanquam certus de omnibus multum ei de tot molestationibus est compassus. Et requisivit ab eo, an vellet cum archiepiscopo de his omnibus in curia experiri. Respondit archidiaconus: «Vtique, pater sancte.» Tunc papa dixit vi-

¹ Pope Gregory IX (1227–41) resided in Perugia from September 1234 to the end of the same year and again in September 1235.

² A certain Master Bartolomeo is known to have been papal vice-chancellor in 1233–5.

ately set out after him. With him went a number of canons who took his side out of malice. Thomas, however, preceded them by eight days. He still did not believe that the fire of hatred was burning so strongly in their hearts that they were willing to undertake the arduous task of following him. Although following Guncel's counsel they had agreed among themselves that no one would call him archdeacon, he hoped nevertheless that if he obtained a letter from the Holy See, when he returned home he might be able to assuage the problems caused by such scandal. But when he saw such a great crowd inflamed with wicked passion coming against him, he grew frightened and began to waver from his purpose. Who could blame him! After all, he was virtually alone, whereas the host of his adversaries were so numerous, an assembly of such distinction, that with these men alone the entire authority of the metropolitan city of Split rested. For there were the archbishop, the archpriest, the sacristan, the primicerius, and many others. And they were fortified by letters, armed with testimonies, and preparing for nothing less than to swallow up the archdeacon whole. Whereas the archdeacon had none other to trust but God who passes judgement on all who suffer wrongs. So relying only on the plea of his innocence, he awaited the conclusion of the matter with a good heart.

Pope Gregory IX was at that time in Perugia.¹ Archdeacon Thomas, with the advice and support of certain men whose identity he never came to know, was admitted to the pope when he was alone *in camera* with only the vice-chancellor.² Genuflecting before him, the archdeacon began painstakingly to explain the details of his case. The most merciful father gave him a gracious hearing and, as if sure of everything, showed much compassion for such great harassment. He asked the archdeacon whether he wished to appear with the archbishop before the Curia regarding these matters. The archdeacon answered, "By all means, Holy Father." Then the pope said to the vice-

cecancellario, qui astabat: «Precipe Otoni cardinali,¹ ut causam utriusque partis audiat diligenter». Tunc archidiaconus gratias agens deosculatis eius pedibus letus egressus est.

Videns autem archiepiscopus cum turma sua tam facilem audientiam archidiacono fore datam et quod auditorem impetraverat contra eos, contristati sunt valde. Et intrantes ad papam conabantur, ut Raynerius cardinalis,² de quo multum confidebant, eis daretur auditor. Sed dominus papa nullatenus acquievit. Vocatus itaque archiepiscopus cum sua multitudine ad Otonem cardinalem accessit et iam mitior factus volebat, ut sine iudicio strepitu causa de plano procederet et quasi in forma compositionis totius litis negotium tractaretur. Sed noluit a principio cardinalis, cavens ne forte super aliquo crimine collusio fieret inter partes. Denique archiepiscopus videns propositum suum non satis sibi ad vota succedere vehementer cepit penitere incepti. Tunc seorsum ad archidiaconum veniens latenter a sotiis blandis temptabat eum demulcere loquellis timens, ne qua criminalis actio contra se intentaretur ab eo. Sed archidiaconus parum credulus blanditiis archiepiscopi sciens eum consuetum esse cum tempore verba vultumque mutare, causam suam coram cardinali sollicitè promovebat. Sotii sui omnes recesserant preter unum.

Itaque die statuta ambe partes ad iudicium accesserunt. Tunc archidiaconus conscripto libello cepit in archiepiscopum quedam crimina denunciando intentare. E contra archiepiscopus cum suo cetu inepta quedam et nil iuris habentia in archidiaconum

¹ Otto of Monferrato, cardinal of St. Nicholas in *Carcere* (1227–44) and afterwards cardinal-bishop of Porto (1244–51). He was a son of Marquis William V the Elder of Monferrato, and a master of arts. His cardinal's title was derived from the deaconry established in the eighth century for helping prisoners in Rome's prison of the time. Since the thirteenth century, to the title was wrongly added also the adjective *Tulliano*, based on the name of the most famous prison of Classical Rome, Tullianum.

chancellor, who was standing by, "Instruct Cardinal Otto¹ to hear the case of each party carefully." Then the archdeacon thanked him, kissed the pope's feet and with a glad heart went out.

When the archbishop and his band saw that the archdeacon had so easily been given an audience and that he had obtained an auditor against them, they were greatly troubled. They appeared before the pope and tried to obtain Cardinal Rainer,² whom they greatly trusted, as an auditor, but the pope would not agree. The archbishop and his retinue were summoned to Cardinal Otto. Now much chastened, he asked if the case might proceed simply without all the clamour of an official court hearing and if the matter might be treated in the form, as it were, of a reconciliatory settlement out of court. The cardinal, at first, was unwilling, on his guard lest any collusion take place between the parties. At last the archbishop saw that his plan was not going according to his desires, and began deeply to regret having embarked on the undertaking. Then he approached the archdeacon privately, without the knowledge of his associates, and attempted to bring him round with winning words; for he was afraid that the archdeacon might be preparing a legal action against him. But the archdeacon put little trust in the archbishop's blandishments, knowing him customarily to change his words and attitude to suit the occasion. The archdeacon therefore continued to prepare his case with care before the cardinal. All of his associates left except for one.

On the appointed day both parties came to court. The archdeacon had drawn up a brief charge sheet, and began to accuse the archbishop and bring certain charges. On his part, the archbishop with his company concocted certain ridiculous charges without any legal basis against the archdeacon, saying that in

² Rainer Capocci of Viterbo, Cistercian and abbot of the Tre Fontane monastery in Rome, created cardinal by Pope Innocent III in 1216, died in 1252. He was a papal legate to Sicily in 1246 and during his career held the position of the vicar of Rome.

confingebant dicentes ipsum in officii sui executione transgredi terminos a patribus diffinitos. Et cum diebus pluribus huiusmodi altercatio haberetur, cardinalis, ut erat vir discretissimus, videns quod non aliunde in archidiaconum consurrexerant nisi ex rancorum scandalis et fomite odiorum, tunc cepit multum dure increpare archiepiscopum, quod seminarium tante nequitie pullulare permiserat in ecclesia Spalatensi. Et quia non ut pastor bonus, qui animam solam ponit pro ovibus suis,¹ se insidianti lupo opponeret, sed potius se actore inter fratres passus erat tanta scandali certamina excrevisse. Tunc requisivit a partibus, an vellent ante diffinitionis calculum in pacis ac dilectionis redire consensum. Guncellus absque ulla cunctatione acquievit, nil enim aliud affectabat, nisi pedem suam de laqueo eruere, in quem ipse inciderat, dum aliis prepararet. Sui vero complices, ut erant in perversitatis proposito indurati, ceperunt contra archiepiscopum tumultuari consensum adhibere negantes. Contra quos cardinalis multum aspera verba intorquens vix eorum sedavit tumultum. Tandem facta promissione altrinsecus, quod ad omnia starent auditoris precepta, presul cum suo agmine merentibus animis et obducta facie sese hospitio receperunt. Et non expectantes arbitrium cardinalis unus post unum, quasi de naufragio, iter arripiunt ad propria redeundi. Tunc venerabilis Otto, absoluto prius ad cautellam archidiacono² et eodem in plenitudine sui offitii restituto, precepit archiepiscopo, ut eum quasi sotium et filium paterna charitate pertractet, nec umquam adversus eum patiatur tam prava imperitorum machinamenta vigere. Guncellus autem demisso vultu in terra respondit se velle omnia devote et efficaciter adimplere.

¹ Cf. John 10: 11.

² The Latin is not quite clear; *ad cautellam* may mean something like “to be on the safe side,” but the absolution is also equivocal, since Thomas maintained that the archdeacon (he) did not commit any wrong.

the execution of his office he had overstepped the bounds laid down by the fathers. When the dispute had been carried on in this way for several days, the cardinal, who was a most prudent man, saw that they had risen against the archdeacon on no other grounds than out of scandalous rancor and in order to foment hatred, he began to rebuke the archbishop harshly for having allowed a such hotbed of wickedness to flourish in the church of Split, and because he did not, like a good shepherd who lays down his life for his sheep,¹ oppose himself to the wolf who lies in wait, but rather as a leading figure he had allowed such great and scandalous struggles to arise among the brothers. Then the cardinal asked the parties whether they were willing to come to an agreement of peace and love before a final decision was pronounced. Guncel agreed without any hesitation. He aimed at nothing but releasing his foot from the snare into which he had fallen, which he had prepared for others but into which he himself had fallen. But his accomplices were fixed in their perverse purpose. They rose in uproar against the archbishop and said that they did not accept the agreement. The cardinal directed harsh words against them and with difficulty silenced their protests. At last when a promise had been made on both sides that they would abide by all of the cardinal's instructions, the archbishop and his retinue withdrew to their lodgings with grieving hearts and veiled faces. Without awaiting the cardinal's decision, one by one, as if they had escaped from a shipwreck, they set out on the journey home. Then the venerable Otto, with circumspection, having first absolved the archdeacon² and restoring him to the fullness of his office, instructed the archbishop to treat the archdeacon with fatherly love as he would a son and associate, and never again to allow such wicked intrigues of ignorant men to flourish against him. Guncel, indeed, with face cast down to the ground, answered that he would fulfil everything faithfully and efficiently.

Tunc apparuit nuncius cum litteris venerabilium episcoporum: Treguani Tragurienis, Nicolai Farensis¹ et aliorum duorum, quas domino pape mittebant in accusationem archiepiscopi et excusationem archidiaconi. Quod cum vidisset Guncellus, nullam ulterius sustinens moram necdum plene licentiatu reces-
sit. Quas litteras cum cardinales vidissent, volebant archiepiscopum revocare ad iudicium, si archidiaconus causam voluisset resumere contra eum. Sed dominus Otto, compositionis conficiens instrumentum, distincte expressit omnia, que secundum statuta canonum singulis ministeriis pertinere noscuntur. Expletis itaque omnibus negotiis venerabilis cardinalis traddidit conscriptiones arbitrii, unam procuratoribus archiepiscopi, alteram archidiacono eumque ad patriam cum sua gratia et benedictione remisit, confirmato sibi archidiaconatus offitio ex papali rescripto. Acta sunt hec anno Domini MCCXXXIII sub Ottone cardinali sancti Nicolai in carcere Tuliano.

XXXII. DE GREGORIO COMITE

Illis temporibus mortuo comite Petro² Spalatenses prefecerunt sibi in comitem nobilem virum Gregorium Berberiensem.³ Hic erat vir potens et dives et in administrandis rebus satis circumspectus et strenuus, valde siquidem fortune prosperitas in prolis fecunditate et in omni rerum felicitate sibi arriserat. Nec erat in tota provintia Chroatie qui tanta potentie prerogativa polleteret, omnes enim inimicos suos superaverat nec erat qui ad res ipsius et fratrum suorum extendere manum auderet.

Cum ergo factus fuisset comes, satis secure sub eo Spalatenses aliquo tempore laborabant terras gregesque pascebant. Sed quia

¹ Nicholas is mentioned in the documents as the bishop of Hvar from about 1230 to 1256 (CD 4: 151–2; CD 5: 4).

² This probably happened during the winter of 1226/7.

Then there appeared a messenger with word from the venerable bishops Treguanus of Trogir, Nicholas of Hvar,¹ and two others, for the pope, in which they made accusations against the archbishop and defended the archdeacon. When Guncel heard this, he tarried no longer, and even though he had not yet been authorized to do so he departed. When the cardinals read these words they were amenable to calling the archbishop to court again if the archdeacon wished to resume his case against his superior. But the lord Otto, drawing up the document of the settlement, stated clearly everything that is known to pertain to each office according to canon law. And so when all these matters had been completed, the venerable cardinal gave one copy of the decision to the archbishop's procurators, the other to the archdeacon. The cardinal sent the archdeacon back to his own land with his grace and benediction, and the office of archdeacon was confirmed for him by papal rescript. These events took place in the year 1234 before Otto, cardinal of Saint Nicholas in *Carcere Tulliano*.

32 COUNT GREGORY

At that time Count Peter died,² and the Spalatins appointed a nobleman, Gregory of Bribir, to be their count.³ He was a powerful and wealthy man, and very cautious and hardworking in matters of administration. Good fortune had smiled upon him in the number of his offspring and in all material success. There was no one in the entire province of Croatia who enjoyed such great power and advantage, for he had overcome all his enemies, and there was no one who dared to stretch out a hand against the interests of him and his brothers.

So after he had been made count, the Spalatins for some time were secure enough under his rule, working the land and graz-

³ Count Gregory of Bribir (of the Šubić kindred) was mentioned as the count of Split from April 1227 (CD 3: 265–7) to June 1234 (CD 3: 408). Also see above, ch. 28.

homo erat multis negotiis implicatus, non poterat Spalati facere moram sed dimisso ibi quodam suo vicario, qui iura colligeret comitatus, ipse in locis sibi oportunis manebat. Et si quando, quod rarissimum erat, vocatus veniret, non pro statu civitatis erat sollicitus, sed de suis proventibus maxime contendebat. Quam ob rem, quia civitas quasi vidua sine rectoris gubernatione manebat, non ante sed retro ire debebat. Superbie pestis precipue vigeat in ea ita, ut qui potentiores esse videbantur, vel rectores seu consules, parvam curam de communi utilitate haberent, immo pro modico sui lucri emolumento maximum communitatis commodum venundabant. Preterea furta, cedes, rapine et omnia mala perpetrabantur impune. Non enim unicus erat, qui gubernationis moderamen super omnes teneret, sed universe civitatis vulgus pro sua voluntate singillatim dominos sibi de potentioribus fecerant, quorum iniquo freti patrocinio, multa scelera presumebant. Et propter hoc inter ipsos magnates multorum emergerat materies odiorum ita, ut in nequitiiis perpetrandis sibi emulatores existerent et ille reputaretur maior et melior, qui plus gloriari poterat in malitia, qui potentior erat in iniquitate. Sic dissipata et lacerata erat civitas, ut nullum rigorem iustitie curia exercere valeret, nisi in illos dumtaxat, quia nimia paupertate et imbecillitate sordebant.

Tunc cives, ex licentia malitie quasi effrenes effecti, ceperunt in communem perniciem mutare dominia: modo pars una illum facere comitem, modo pars altera alium, non metuentes crimen periurii, non verentes iura patrie pestiferis factionibus temerare. Tunc eiecerunt Gregorium de comitatu et fecerunt comitem Domaldum,¹ qui erat inimicus eius capitalis. Rursus eiecto Domaldo fecerunt comitem Marcum, filium Gregorii.²

¹ Domald was mentioned again as the count of Split from April (CD 3: 438) to August 1235 (*Serie* 8: 62). He probably held the post until late 1236.

² Count Mark, a son of Count Gregory, is mentioned as the count of Split from January 1237 (CD 4: 22) to January 1239 (Lucius, *Legacy*, fasc. 538, fols. 114–114').

ing their sheep. But he was a man involved in a great many affairs. Consequently, he was not able spend much time in Split, but left his deputy there to collect the rights of the countship, while he himself remained in places that suited him better. And if ever he was called and did come, which was very rare, he was not concerned for the welfare of the city, but was concerned first and foremost with his own interests. Thus the city was left, as it were, a widow; without a governor to rule it, it was bound to go not forwards but backwards. What especially flourished in the city was the curse of pride. Those who appeared to be the more powerful—whether governors or consuls—had little concern for the common good. Rather, they were prepared to sell the community's most vital interests in return for some small profit for themselves. Furthermore, robberies, murders, pillaging and every kind of evil were committed and went unpunished. For there was nobody to impose the rule of government over all the citizens. Rather, the common people throughout the city chose lords for themselves as they pleased, one by one, from among the more powerful, and relying upon their unjust protection they dared to commit many crimes. And this led to enmity among the magnates themselves, so that they began to vie with each other in committing wickedness. That man was considered the greater and the better who could pride himself most on his evil ways, and who had greater power to commit wickedness. Thus was the city divided and torn, and nor was the court of law able to exercise any strictness in justice, except over those who were poorest and weakest.

Then the citizens, as it were unbridled in their license to commit evil, began to switch their allegiances, to the common ruin. First one party chose one man as count, then the other party chose someone else, unmoved by fear of perjury and unashamed to dishonor the laws of their country with their destructive factionalism. Thus they expelled Gregory from the countship and made Domald, his mortal enemy, count.¹ Then again they expelled Domald and made Gregory's son Mark count.² And

Et hoc non communiter sed divisim ex mutuis odiorum infestationibus presumebant. Propter hoc magnas inimicitias, dampna et pericula patrie conquirebant.

Illis temporibus, ut ferunt, quidam pestilenses cives in odium eorum, quos Gregorius diligebat, abeuntes instigaverunt quen-dam Tollenum, qui erat nepos comitis Petri de Chulmia, ut exiens veniret ad predam Spalatinorum pecorum et Tragurino-rum. Qui armata equitum turma non modica clam equitavit ad locum, qui dicitur Basilen,¹ ubi magna ovium multitudo pasce-batur et abstulit de ovibus Spalatensium octoginta fere milia et abduxit eas in terram suam nichilque Spalatenses recuperare potuerunt. Verumtamen armato sepius navali exercitu magnam partem terre ipsius depopulati sunt.

Eo tempore erat quidam senex Duimus nomine, qui licet es-set etate maturus, crudis tamen erat moribus insuavis. Hic cum putaret sibi factam fore iniuriam a filiis Vitalis pro eo, quod in quandam eius ancillam manus iniecerant, indignum putavit adire curiam et iudicum sententiam expectare, sed iratus venit cum duobus filiis suis et primo quidem verbis agressus est pre-dictos iuvenes filios Vitalis. Hi etiam, cum essent ad fatuitatem et superbiam multum precipites, noluerunt dare locum ire, sed procaci ore verba tumentia responderunt. Sic post verba tend-unt manus ad verbera, dehinc diabolo instigante tractis pugio-nibus iam res non civiliter sed hostiliter agitur. Tunc tota civitas in seditionem commota, alii lapidibus alii gladiis debachantur. Itaque die ipsa iacuerunt more porcorum despicati in platea Du-imus Drasce cum duobus filiis suis. Eodem modo unus de filiis Vitalis, nomine Domitius, et multi alii saxo vel ferro vulnerati sunt. Post multos tamen dies supervixit filius Duimi iunior et filius Vitalis. Tunc congregata communitas iudicavit expelli de civitate homicidas illos domibus illorum ad solum destructis.

¹ Bosiljina (also called Drid), an area around present-day Marina, which was a cause of conflict between Split and Trogir during the Middle Ages.

this they undertook not in common but separately, out of mutual hostility and hatred. In the process they brought upon the country great enmity, harm, and danger.

In these times, it is said, certain destructive citizens, out of hatred of those whom Gregory held dear, went out and incited a certain Toljen, a nephew of Count Peter of Hum, to come and drive off the herds of the Spalatins and Tragurins. Toljen readied a not inconsiderable troop of riders, and rode secretly to the place called Bosiljina,¹ where a great number of sheep were pastured. He carried off about 80,000 of the Spalatins' sheep and led them away to his own land. The Spalatins were unable to recapture any of them. Nevertheless, they several times equipped a naval force and laid waste a great part of his land.

At that time there was an old man named Duimus son of Draža, who although he was of mature years, nevertheless was crude and disagreeable in his ways. He considered that he had been done an injury by the sons of Vitalis, in that they had manhandled a servant woman of his. However, he saw no reason why he should go to court and await a decision from the judges. Rather, he went angrily with his two sons and confronted the sons of Vitalis. At first, he merely attacked them with words. But the young men, all too hastily surrendering to foolishness and pride, would not back down, but answered with arrogant and more insolent words. Thus words led to blows, until, incited by the devil, daggers were drawn—as though it were not an affair between fellow citizens but against foreign enemies. Soon the whole city was in uproar, some raging with stones, others with swords. By the end of the day Duimus son of Draža and his two sons lay in the street, like despised pigs. Similarly, one of the sons of Vitalis, Domitius by name, and many others were wounded by rocks or by weapons. After many days, however, the younger son of Duimus and the son of Vitalis survived. Then the community assembled and sentenced the murderers to be expelled from the city and their houses to be leveled to the ground.

Exierunt ergo de civitate filii Vitalis et filii Gallone cum sequacibus suis, et abierunt Iaderam. Et cum ibi aliquantam moram fecissent, perquirebant, qualiter per vim saltem eis liceret ad patriam remeare. Conduxerunt ergo in auxilium sibi aliquantam sotietatem Pisanorum, qui erant boni pugnaces, sed ad malum satis veloces. Tunc armatis duobus lignis venerunt et media nocte applicantes ad portum consilio amicorum et parentum suorum clanculo intraverunt in turrin quandam, que est super portam aquilonarem. Et quia inopia rei familiaris premebantur, ceperunt consilia pessima machinari, disponebant enim armata manu quorundam divitum domos invadere et bona eorum diripere violenter. Ob hoc vero in huius se presumptionis audaciam erigebant, quia nullum caput, nec regimen inter cives videbant. Cum autem in civitate auditum fuit, quod filii Vitalis cum sotietate hominum externorum advenissent, et quod ad talia facinora perpetranda sui cordis relaxarent habenas, mox inimici eorum¹ pavefacti totam concitaverunt civitatem contra eos. Unde facta coadunatione totius communitatis miserunt ad eos, ut statim recederent, unde venerant, alioquin impetus universi populi in ipsorum mortem fureret incunctanter. Tunc consilio suorum fautorum exierunt et usque ad monasterium sancti Stephani² secesserunt ibique occasione quadam biduo comorandi indutias petierunt et optinuerunt. Infra quod spatium appropinquabant ad civitatem et cum amicis et propinquis per ortos comedebant et bibebant securi. At vero eorum inimici manebant inclusi in turri Calende. Factum est autem, ut quadam die, advesperascente iam hora, cum viderent quosdam eorum quasi insultando eis prope civitatem accedere, magnum sibi opprobrium fieri extimantes, si in conspectu inimicorum suorum tota die manerent inclusi. Exierunt ergo de turri: Iohannes

¹ That is, the party of Duimus.

² The Benedictine monastery of St. Stephen Under the Pine Trees (*de pinis*) in Split. It was founded at the end of the tenth or at the beginning of the eleventh century. Its remains still exist in the area of Sustjepan near to the entrance to Split's harbor to the west of the city.

Consequently, the sons of Vitalis and the sons of Gallona left the city with their followers and went to Zadar. When they had stayed there for some time, they sought a way by which they might be able by force to return to their own land. To help them they hired a good number of men from Pisa, who were good fighters but very ready to do evil. Then they fitted out two ships and came in the middle of the night to the harbor of Split, and on the advice of their friends and relatives secretly entered a certain tower, which is over the northern gate. And because they were pressed by want of domestic resources, they began to devise very evil plans. For they proposed to break into the houses of some wealthy men with an armed band and seize their goods by force. Yet they were only able to presume to such audacity because they saw that there was neither leader nor government among the citizens. However, when word got around the city that the sons of Vitalis had returned with a company of foreigners and showed no compunction about committing such crimes, their enemies,¹ in panic, swiftly roused the whole city against them. When the entire community was united, they sent word to the sons of Vitalis that they should immediately return whence they had come; otherwise, the fury of the whole populace would be unleashed upon them, and they would be killed without delay. So, on the advice of their supporters, the sons of Vitalis departed and withdrew to the monastery of Saint Stephen.² There on some pretext they asked for and obtained a truce to allow them to stay there for two days. During this time they came back up to the city, and ate and drank without a care in the gardens of their friends and relations. But meanwhile their enemies remained enclosed in the tower of Calenda. It happened that on one of these days, as dusk was nearing, they saw some of them approaching the city, as if in mockery of them, and they decided that it was a great disgrace to them to remain enclosed the entire day while their enemies looked

Cegaida,¹ Lampridius filius Duimi cum ceteris complicibus suis, et venerunt versus montem, non quasi pugnandi animo, sed gratia spatiandi. Et ecce, inimici eorum sedebant absque pavore post ecclesiam sancti Felicis.² Videntes autem inimicos suos contra se venientes illico surrexerunt et, ut erant audatiores, licet pauci essent, ibi ceperunt urgere ipsos lapidibus et non permittere eos ulterius progredi. E contrario vero pars adversa lapides contra lapides iactando suos adversarios ex loco illo expellere nitebatur. Cum ergo inter eos aliquantisper eminus pugnatum esset, pars filiorum Vitalis in tantum validior fuit, ut eorum inimici compellerentur retrocedere usque presidium suum. Sed cum fragor pugnantium in civitate audiretur, factus est popularis concursus contra filios Vitalis una voce clamantium, ut recederent vel perirent. Tunc videntes hi, qui erant ex parte Duimi Drasce, quod in auxilium eis de civitate confluerent, resumptis viribus ceperunt contra hostes reverti. Et concurrentes adversus eos, non iam instant lapidibus, sed telis et ensibus in hostes feruntur. Et cum ipsis ignominiosum videretur cursim ad suos fugere, cum essent pene inhermes, lentis gressibus recedebant. Et ecce repente inimici eorum irruerunt super eos et primo invadentes Gregorium, filium Gallone, totum iaculis et mucronibus confoderunt, alterum vero Domitium ei succurrere properantem cede simili mactaverunt. Et sic sui sanguinis ultione patrata ad turris sue presidium sunt cum exultatione reversi munientes se undique, ne qua ex parte ab adversariis possent invadi. Iohannes vero, maior ex filiis Vitalis,³ cum sua sotietate apud portum monasterii positus audiens miserabilem casum fratrum suorum cepit tristis et anxius ad civitatem reverti.

¹ John son of Cigaida was a respectable citizen of Split. He is mentioned in contemporary documents as a judge and as a witness (CD 4: 327, 428, 453, 510; CD 5: 56, 97, 107, 199, 212, 430, 448).

² The church of St. Felix was on the spot of the present-day convent of St. Francis on the seashore (*Riva*) of Split. See above, n. 2, p. 72.

³ John son of Vitalis was a respectable citizen of Split. He is mentioned in contemporary documents as a judge and as a witness (CD 4: 271, 373, 453, 571, 587–8; CD 5: 56, 343, 399, 421, 426, 448, 494).

on. So they left the tower—John Cegaida,¹ Lampridius the son of Duimus, and others from among their accomplices—and went towards the mountain, not actually with the intention of fighting but for the sake of taking a walk. And there were their enemies sitting without fear behind the church of Saint Felix.² However, when the sons of Vitalis saw their enemies coming in their direction, they sprang up instantly. Since the sons of Vitalis were quite bold, although there were only a few of them there, they began to press their enemies with stones and did not allow them to advance any further. The opposing side, for their part, themselves threw stones at them and endeavored to drive their adversaries from that place. Therefore, when they had been fighting for a time from a distance, the side of Vitalis' sons prevailed to the point that their enemies were forced to retreat towards their refuge. But when the noise of the fighting was heard in the city, a mass assault of the people was made against the sons of Vitalis, all shouting with one voice that they should withdraw or else they would die. When the men of the party of Duimus son of Draže saw men pouring out of the city to help them, they turned once more against the enemy with renewed strength; and charging them, they no longer assailed their enemies with stones but bore down upon them with spears and swords. And since it appeared shameful to them to flee to their comrades at a run, they went back at a walking pace, even though they were virtually unarmed. And there all at once their enemies fell upon them. They first attacked Gregory the son of Gallona, stabbing him all over with their spears and the points of their swords. Then, when his companion Domitius ran to help him they cut him down in similar fashion. Now that they had achieved vengeance for their dead family, they returned exulting to the protection of their tower, where they fortified themselves on all sides so that they could not be attacked by their opponents. John, the eldest of Vitalis' sons,³ who was standing with his band at the gate of the monastery, upon hearing of the wretched end of his brothers, returned to the city, sad and troubled.

Tunc communitas congregata cepit fovere partem alteram, partem vero Duimi compulit ire Tragurium destructis eorum domibus omnia bona ipsorum Iohanni et eius complicitibus adiudicavit, cum ergo ambe partes assidue armate incederent et ex vicinitate civitatum sese ad invicem occulte ac palam crebrius infestarent, ita ut homicidia, rapine, cedes in eos etiam comitterentur, qui neutri parti fautores erant.

Erat autem tota civitas in pessimo statu posita, quia tanta erat dissensio, ut fieri solet, quod nullus pene remaneret, qui non pro alterutra parte contenderet. Tunc ceperunt parentes timere pro filiis, pro rebus, pro vita etiam sua. In tantum enim omnes proclivi erant ad facinus, ut generalis videretur interitus civibus iminere.

Iste metus causam dedit nostratibus de Latino regimine cogitare.¹ Tunc ceperunt relligiosi viri fratres minores in suis predicationibus suadere civibus, ut potestatem de gente Latina advocarent. Precipue autem Thomas archidiaconus convocato clero frequenter populum comonebat multis ostendens rationibus, quod non alio modo poterat civitas ad bonum statum reduci, nisi per regimen Latinorum. Et tandem acquieverunt omnes, ut de gente Latina potestas eligeretur. Facto autem universali consilio quesitum est, ex qua civitate Ytalie potestas advocari deberet. Et tunc omnium in hoc resedit voluntas, ut ad civitatem Anconitanam pro potestate mitteretur. Tunc elegerunt duos, qui legationis huius perferrent negotium, videlicet Thomam archidiaconum et Micham filium Madii,² dantes eis per publicum instrumentum plenam auctoritatem, ut abeuntes Anconam, quoad melius videretur eis, factum huiusmodi promoverent, obligantes se iuramenti vinculo universa pro rato ha-

¹ For the "Latin" model of government, see Mirjana Matijević Sokol, "Regimen Latinorum Tome Arhidakona u teoriji i praksi" [The *Regimen Latinorum* of Thomas the Archdeacon in theory and practice], *Historijski zbornik* 52 (1999): 17–32.

² Micha son of Madius was a scion of a distinguished Spalatin family. He held several offices in the city from 1239 to 1270, and is mentioned in the docu-

Then the community assembled and began to favor his party, and to compel the party of Duimus to go to Trogir; they destroyed their houses and awarded all their goods to John and his accomplices. By now, however, both sides regularly went about armed, and because of the proximity of the two cities they began to come to blows more frequently both openly and secretly, until murder, robbery and violence were being committed even against those who supported neither side.

The entire city was now in dire circumstances, for there was such great dissension, as usually happens, that scarcely anyone remained who did not struggle on behalf of one or the other faction. Then parents began to fear for their children, their property, even for their own lives. Everyone was inclined towards crime to such an extent that it seemed that universal destruction threatened the citizens.

It was this fear that gave our citizens cause to consider adopting the "Latin government."¹ Thereupon the Friars Minor began to urge the citizens in their sermons to call in a *podestà* from the Latin people. Archdeacon Thomas in particular would summon the clergy and repeatedly urge the people, demonstrating with many arguments that the well-being of the city could be restored only by the governance of the Latins. At last everyone agreed that they should choose a *podestà* from the Latins. A general council was called and the question was put: from which city of Italy ought the *podestà* to be called? And then the will of all settled on this: they should send to the city of Ancona for a *podestà*. So then they elected two men who would carry out this mission, namely Archdeacon Thomas and Micha son of Madius.² They gave them full authority in a public document to go to Ancona and do what seemed best to them to bring about this outcome, and obligated themselves by the bond of an oath

ments as a judge, a witness, an examiner, etc. (CD 4: 86, 394, 428, 453 *et passim*; CD 5: 3, 6, 56 *et passim*).

bere. Itaque archidiaconus cum suo collega suscepto legationis mandato, quamquam cernerent quosdam ex civibus penitere, post festum Epiphaniae¹ iter arripientes navigaverunt multosque ac diutinos passi labores tandem prope festum Pasce Anconam applicuerunt.² Et cum iam rumor processisset, quod venturi essent Spalatensium nuntii pro potestate eligendo satis honorifice suscepti sunt a nobilibus civitatis, alacri animo prebendo eis hospitia et grata servitia impendendo. Tunc nuntii primitus accesserunt ad potestatem Anconitanum, qui erat Lombardus genere, patria Bergamensis.³ Et porrigentes ei saluatoriam Spalatensium, exposuerunt ei causas legationis sue petentes, ut necessarium eis consilium impendere dignaretur. Ipse vero, ut erat vir legalis et bonus, duxit eos seorsum cepitque multis suadere loquellis, ut super tam arduo negotio nichil incaute, nichil agerent properanter sed relligiosorum dumtaxat et fidelium virorum utentes consiliis in facti executionem procederent. Nominavit eis expressim personas paucas, quarum debebant consiliis adherere dicens: «Quia tanta viget hic hominum malitia, ut plerique privato amore non laudanda laudarent, alii vero privato odio non vituperanda vituperarent, nec consulendo sinceriter ad vestre respicient utilitatis profectum, sed ad sue carnalitatis affectum.»

XXXIII. DE GARGANO POTESATE

Sic et factum est. Nam accedentes ad quendam religiosum virum, qui erat de ordine fratrum minorum, qui fidem et conversationem omnium perspicue cognoscebat secumque diutius conferentes, taliter deliberaverunt, ut neminem alium pro potestate eligerent, nisi nobilem virum Garganum de Arscindis, qui testimonium habebat bonum ab omnibus.⁴ Tunc nuntii

¹ 6 January 1239.

² 27 March 1239.

³ We could not ascertain the identity of that *podestà* of Ancona.

to accept all that they decided as valid. And so the archdeacon and his colleague accepted the commission, although they saw that some citizens were having second thoughts, and they set sail after the feast of Epiphany.¹ After enduring many protracted hardships, they at last landed at Ancona shortly before Easter.² The word had already preceded them that envoys would come from Split to choose a *podestà*, and they were received with great honor by the leading persons of the city, who eagerly extended their hospitality to them and willingly put themselves at their service. Then the envoys in the first instance approached the *podestà* of Ancona. He was a Lombard by birth, a native of Bergamo.³ They extended to him the greetings of the Spalatins and explained the purpose of their mission, requesting that he deem it worthy of giving them the advice that they needed. The *podestà*, being a good and upright man, drew them aside and urged them at length that in this serious matter they should do nothing carelessly or hastily, but should proceed about the business by taking the advice only of religious and loyal men. He expressly named a few persons whose advice they ought to follow, saying that "so great is the malice of people here that most of them, from personal love, praise those things that are not praiseworthy, while others from personal animosity disparage those things that are in no way worthy of disparagement. Nor in giving counsel would they sincerely look to the advancement of your welfare, but follow their own base worldly desires."

33 GARGANO THE *PODESTÀ*

And so it came about. They went to a certain Franciscan who was well acquainted with everyone's good character and ways. After conferring with him for a long time they decided that they would select as *podestà* only the nobleman Gargano de Arcindis, of whom everyone gave good report.⁴ Then the envoys

⁴ As far as we know, Thomas is the only source for the life of Gargano de Arcindis.

eundem Garganum adeuntes, ceperunt alloqui ipsum, exponentes ei suum propositum, quod de ipso habebant et querentes, an vellet ad unum annum venire pro eorum regimine civitatis. Quibus ipse benigne respondit, quod deliberaret primo cum propinquis et amicis et tunc demum certum quid responderet. Facta autem deliberatione per aliquot dies, reversus ad eos acquievit voluntati eorum. Et pacti sunt cum eo in quingentis libris Anconitane monete pro salario unius anni. Et multis coram positis pactionem firmaverunt et ipse iuramentum prestitit super quibusdam articulis. Et sic potestatis officium suscepit.

Confectis autem publicis instrumentis cepit se preparare ad iter. Cum ergo denunciata fuisset electio Gargani apud potestatem et consilium Anconitanum, valde commendantes factum Spalatinorum pulsu campane ac preconis voce populum convocarunt. Et facto grandi conventu iverunt nuntii cum Gargano ad palatium publicum. Et intrantes curiam, peroravit archidiaconus processum legationis et electionis, quam fecerant de Gargano, petens ex parte suorum civium, ut cum eorum benivolentia et favore dirigant eum ad regimen civitatis Spalatine. Tunc potestas Anconitana surgens prolixè contionatus est grates multiplices referens, quod tantum honoris a Spalatensibus eis foret impensum. Et accipiens Garganum per manum posuit eum ad manus nuntiorum ipsum multipliciter recommendans.

Garganus vero necessarie societatis comitatu parato navem ingressus est. Habuit autem militem unum¹ et unum notarium,² clientelam bonam, duos dextrarios et armorum non modicum apparatus. Comitati sunt eum multi nobiles cognati sui, alios misit communitas pro nuntiis ob honorificentiam persone ipsius. Navigantes autem non paucis diebus, tandem quinto decimo die mensis Maii ad Spalati portum leti applicuerunt. Ut autem rumor in civitate perstrepuisset, quod potestas advenisset,

¹ *Miles* was the term denoting the deputy of a *podestà*. Another term sometimes used for the same function was *socius*.

² Gargano's notary was Peter son of Trasimundo (CD 4: 86 and 113).

went to Gargano and began discussions with him, explaining to him the proposal that they were to deliver to him. They asked him if he were willing to come for one year to govern their city. To this he answered courteously that he would first consult with his relations and his friends, and only then could he give a firm answer. After he had been in consultation for several days, he returned to them and acceded to their wishes. They agreed to pay him 500 Anconitan pounds as salary for one year. And they confirmed the agreement before a multitude of the people, and he took an oath on certain of its clauses. And so he assumed the office of *podestà*.

When the public documents had been drawn up, he began to prepare for the journey. When the election of Gargano had been announced to the *podestà* and the council of Ancona, they, greatly commending the act of the Spalatins, summoned the people by the ringing of the bell and the call of the town crier. A great assembly was called, and envoys went with Gargano to the public palace. When they entered the court, the archdeacon made a speech explaining the proceedings of their mission and the choice that they had made of Gargano, and requested on behalf of his fellow citizens that they appoint him with their goodwill and support to rule the city of Split. Then the *podestà* of Ancona rose and spoke at length, expressing thanks repeatedly that the Spalatins had bestowed upon them such great honor. Then taking Gargano's hand, he placed him in the hands of the envoys, commending him again and again.

Gargano had readied his retinue of trusty companions, and boarded ship. He had one *miles*¹ and a notary,² a good entourage, two war-horses, and a not inconsiderable supply of weapons. Many distinguished members of his kin accompanied him. And the community sent other persons as envoys to honor his person. After many days at sea they joyfully landed at the harbor of Split on the fifteenth of May. When the news that the *podestà* had arrived had been voiced through the city, the whole

mox tota civitas prorupit ad portum factusque est concursus utriusque sexus et etatis videre cupientium, quem longo desiderio fuerant prestolati. Egressus autem de navi ab universa cleri populique frequentia in magno tripudio et honoris obsequio susceptus est.

Altera autem die misit et fecit inspicere plura hospitia, ubi videretur commodius sui regiminis officium exercere. Et tandem placuit habere domum comitis Grubesce pro publico palatio et pro hospitio suo. Tertia vero die¹ fecit coadunari universum populum civitatis et facta curia primo expediverunt se nuntii exponentes sue legationis processum et exitum ostendentes. Deinde nuntii Anconitanorum Matheus de Girardo et Albertus² legationem civium suorum, que erat pro Gargano, coram populo multis laudibus perorarunt. Post hec autem surgens Garganus, ut erat eloquens vir, multum lepide contionatus est. Et prestito sui regiminis iuramento, fecit universam multitudinem tam nobilium quam popularium vinculo sacramenti astringi, ut essent suis preceptis obedientes per omnia et sequaces. Iussit autem omnes iuratos in scriptis redigi et inventus est numerus fere duum milium virorum. Tunc ordinavit curiam statuens iudices, camerarios et precones. Totum namque regimen disposuit ad exemplar Ytalicarum urbium, que per potestatum regimina gubernantur. Cum enim nihil pecunie in fisco publico reperisset, per sue discretionis industriam cito ipsum abundare fecit absque gravamine alicuius. Siquidem tantam ei gratiam concessit Deus, ut ab omnibus timeretur et audiretur, quasi quidam sanctus a Deo missus. Nec solum civibus venerationi erat sed de tota pene provintia veniebant audire ipsius sententias, quasi divinas. Erat enim quam maxime intentus cum omnibus pacem facere factamque fideliter observare, superbis

¹ 17 May 1239.

² These envoys are not known to us from any other source.

populace rushed forth to the harbor, and soon there was a great crowd of men and women, young and old, desiring to see the man whom they had been awaiting with great longing. When he debarked from the ship he was received by the entire throng of clergy and people with great jubilation and signs of honor.

The next day he had many places of accommodation inspected to see where he might most suitably exercise the office of his governance. In the end, it pleased him to have the house of Count Grubiša as the town hall and as his own lodging. On the third day¹ he had the whole populace of the city assembled, and when a court had been created, first the envoys stepped forward, explaining the matter of their mission and disclosing its intended outcome. Then the envoys of the Anconitans, Matthew de Girardo and Albert,² expounded before the people the matter of the mission with which they had been entrusted by their own citizens in support of Gargano, and they spoke much in his praise. After this Gargano rose; he was an eloquent man and addressed them with much wit. After he himself had taken the oath of office, he had the entire populace, nobles as well as commoners, bound by an oath that they would obey and follow his orders in all regards. Moreover, he commanded that the names of all the oath-takers be enrolled in books, and it was discovered that the number of men was about two thousand. Then he appointed a court, establishing judges, chamberlains and criers. And thus he arranged the entire government on the model of the Italian cities, which are each one governed by the rule of its *podestà*. When he discovered that there was no money in the public treasury, by his prudent diligence he soon made it rich, without placing a burden upon anyone. Indeed, God granted him such grace that he was feared and heeded by everyone, as if he were a saint sent by God. Nor was he revered by the citizens of Split alone; from almost the whole of the province they came to hear his pronouncements as if they were divine. For he was wholly intent on bringing about peace between all persons, and preserving it faithfully once it was made, resisting overweening

resistere, pacificos quasi filios confovere. Sicque brevi tempore tota civitas veluti de magnis tenebrarum squaloribus exiens ad lucem devenit.¹

Tunc illa cruenta et orribilis discordia, quam supra descripsimus, sopita est. Nam filii Vitalis cum parentella Duimi contractis inter se conubiis pacem perpetuam tenuerunt. Sclavi etiam, qui implacabiliter contra civitatem seviebant assiduis predationibus laniantes eam, ad pacis concordiam reducti sunt.² Tanta namque fuit eo tempore securitas intus et extra, ut numquam maior ibi memoraretur fuisse. Hoc ideo contigerat, quia potestatis metus omnes cives in unitate constrinxerat. Omnes autem, quasi per unum funem trahentes, robur civitatis integrum conservabant nec erat ausus quispiam civium privatas amicitias seu inimicitias cum extraneis facere, sed qui erat amicus publicus a singulis amabatur; quem vero civitas pro inimico habebat, quasi omnium hostem omnes insequabantur.

Et hoc ceu miraculose eo tempore contigit, ut duo implacabiles hostes Spalatensium vivendi finem facerent, videlicet Tollen de Chulmia³ et alter Tollen Politianus,⁴ qui nunquam poterant cum Spalatensibus pacem habere.

Per idem tempus, anno domini millesimo CCXXXVIII die tertio intrante mense Iunio, facta est eclipsis solis mirabilis et terribilis. Totus enim sol obscuratus est et tota serenitas aeris obtenebrata est. Et quasi noctis tempore stelle apparuerunt in celo et quedam maior stella micabat iuxta solem ex occidentali parte. Tantusque pavor in omnes incubuerat, ut velud amentes huc illucque clamando discurrerent mundi finem adesse pu-

¹ The first important act of Gargano in Split was a peace treaty with Trogir signed on 11 July 1239 (CD 4: 84–6).

² Thomas is apparently thinking of the treaty concluded between the commune of Split and Count Andrew of Hum on 7 September 1241 (CD 4: 134–5).

³ Toljen, nephew of Count Peter of Hum, is mentioned above, p. 215.

men and cherishing peacemakers as if they were his own sons. And, thus, in a short time, it was as if the entire city left the profound gloom and misery of darkness and came out into the light.¹

Then that bloody and appalling conflict was lulled that we have recounted above: for the sons of Vitalis and the relatives of Duimus arranged marriages with each other and established a perpetual peace. Even the Slavs who were raging relentlessly against the city, rending it by their incessant plundering, were brought to concord and peace.² Indeed, such was the feeling of security at that time within and without the city that it was said never to have been greater. And it happened for this reason: fear of the *podestà* bound all citizens in unity, and all, as if pulling one rope, preserved the vigor of the city unimpaired. No citizen dared to make private alliances or harbor private enmities with those outside. Rather, he who was a friend of the community was loved by every single person, but he whom the city considered an enemy was attacked by everyone as if the enemy of all.

And it seemed to happen as if miraculously that at that time the deaths of two relentless enemies of the Spalatins occurred, namely Toljen of Hum³ and another Toljen, from Poljica,⁴ who had never been able to live at peace with the Spalatins.

At the same time in the year 1239, on the third day of the month of June, there was a wondrous and terrifying eclipse of the sun. The sun was entirely concealed and the clear sky was darkened. Stars appeared in the sky as if it were night, and one larger star shone near the sun on the western side. And such great terror seized everyone that they ran here and there shouting like madmen, for they thought that the end of the world was at

⁴ Toljen of Poljica, a nephew of Count Malduč of Omiš, a member of the Kačić kindred, is mentioned in the documents of 1239 and 1240 (CD 4: 91–2, 112).

tantes. Erat autem dies Veneris luna tricesima.¹ Et quamvis solis iste defectus per totam aparuisset Europam, in Asia tamen et Africa non dicebatur fuisse. Eodem anno visa est stella crinita, id est cometa,² que imminabat septentrionali regioni, quasi supra regnum Hungarie, et mansit diebus multis satisque magne rei portendi videbatur presagium. His etenim diebus crebrescebat iam per aures hominum tristis rumor, quod pestifera Tartarorum gens fines iam Christianorum invaserant in Ruthenie partibus; sed quasi pro ludo reputabatur a multis.

XXXIV. DE REGIMINE GARGANI

Interea Garganus in administrandis rebus publicis valde circumspectus et cautus, ubicunque opus erat pro tractandis consiliis, pro disponendis negotiis, pro expendendis foralibus causis, multa prudentia ducebatur. Amator siquidem honestatis, quos laudabilis fame ac bone conversationis esse noverat, hos amicos et familiares habebat, quos vero superbos, elatos infamesque cognoverat, his nunquam faciem ylaem hostendebat. Iuniores more pii patris ad se frequenter convocans instruebat, hunc de rebus iusta negotiatione augendis, alium de militia exercenda, alium de causis civilibus fideliter exequendis. Et quid plura referam? Nunquam erat quietus sed semper intentus et fervidus statum singulorum et omnium ad meliora transferre. Qualiter autem civitatis honor et commodum ampliori possit mensura excrescere, mentis aciem undique circumferebat, dando operam solerti studio servare habita et lucrari habenda, expendenda pro utilitate expendere et tenenda ex discretione tenere. De rebus propriis satis erat curialis et largus sed de communibus multum tenax et parcus.

¹ 3 June 1239. The “thirtieth moon” is a very unusual term. It was in fact the first day of the lunar month, while the previous one had 29 days.

² Thomas uses two words to describe it, the word ‘comet’ (*cometa*) and its Latin equivalent, ‘long-haired star’ (*stella crinita*).

hand. Moreover, it was Friday, the thirtieth moon [*sic*].¹ And although this eclipse appeared throughout all of Europe, it was not said to have occurred in Asia and Africa. In the same year a comet² was seen which shone in the northern region, as it were, above the kingdom of Hungary, and remained for many days. It was regarded as an omen portending some great event. And it was in these days that the fearful rumor spread abroad and reached everyone's ears that the pestilential race of Tatars had now invaded the boundaries of Christendom in the region of Ruthenia; but this was treated as a joke by many.

34 THE GOVERNANCE OF GARGANO

Meanwhile the city was governed by Gargano. He was a very deliberative and cautious man in administering public affairs, and showed much wisdom wherever it was needed in conducting councils, setting business matters in order, and settling law-suits. He was a great lover of honesty. Those whom he knew to be of praiseworthy reputation and conduct he treated as his friends and intimates. But to those whom he knew to be arrogant, haughty and disreputable, he never showed a cheerful face. He treated his juniors like a kindly father, calling them to him frequently and instructing them: one concerning how to increase his wealth by fair dealings, another concerning the practice of warfare, another on carrying out civil suits in good faith. And what more should I mention? He was never still, but always attentive and eager to improve the condition of each and every one for the better. Moreover, he turned his mind in all parts to see in whatever way the honor and advantage of the city might grow in fuller measure. In this he paid attention to preserving what they had and acquiring what was needed, paying only for things insofar as they were useful, and retaining what it made sense to retain. Of his own property he was very gracious, courteous and generous, but with that of the community he was tightfisted and sparing.

Facta est autem tunc collatio inter cives, et peracta taxatione omnium bonorum mobilium et immobilium. Solvit unusquisque de centenario tria fuitque summa totius collectae quasi quatuor milium ypperperorum.¹ Ex hac pecunie collatione expedita sunt debita communitatis, et redempta fuerunt vasa aurea et argentea, quae de thesauris ecclesiae suscepta a longo fuerant tempore pignorata.

Nempe vir catholicus ecclesiam et ecclesiae ministros in magna veneratione habebat. Si quando a perversis et malignis civibus ad ipsius aures persuasio sacrilega contra clericos fieret, ut in depressionem clericalis privilegii aliquod eis commune servitium imponeret, seu datum ab eis exigeret, numquam audire volebat. Immo velud defensor ecclesiae et advocatus cleri contra omnium se obloquia opponebat. Denique tanto amoris studio de vita et moribus singulorum civium perquirebat, ut ante annum actus et nomina prediceret senum et iuvenum, puerorum etiam, ita ut omnium haberet notitiam ac si natus et nutritus in hac urbe fuisset. Preterea in exhibendo honore hospitibus ita liberalis erat, ut plerique antea civitatis inimici, propter ipsius curialitatem amicissimi efficerentur. Veraces amabat, mendaces vitabat, ambulans in via immaculata hic sibi ministrabat. In bello magnanimus et audax, in pace mansuetus et blandus, nullus poterat esse ita pauper et vilis qui non facilem ingressum haberet ad eum et qui propere sui iuris non consequeretur effectum. In penis autem pro maleficio inferendis non erat tepidus sed rigidus, ut nullus daretur criminibus locus. Ad vindictam siquidem malefactorum laudem vero bonorum portabat gladium iudicialiter potestatis. Tunc etenim veraciter videbat bonus bonitatem sibi prodesse, quando suam malitiam malis cernebat obesse. Multi namque ex habilitate suae naturae fierent boni, sed ex impunitate criminum efficiuntur mali. E contrario vero quidam ex quo-dam temeritatis impulsu fierent mali, qui timore penali discunt fieri boni.

¹ The *hyperper* was originally a Byzantine gold coin. In Thomas' time it was a money of account worth 12 groats, that is, two thirds of a Venetian ducat.

Moreover, a collection was held at that time among the citizens: an assessment was made of every person's movable and immovable goods, and each person paid three hundredths of the value. The total sum collected was about four thousand *iperperi*.¹ From this contribution of money the debts of the community were settled, and the gold and silver vessels that had been taken from the church treasury and pawned long ago were redeemed.

Of course, as he was a good Catholic, he held the church and its ministers in great veneration. If any sacrilegious notions put about by bad and malicious citizens against clerics were voiced to him, for instance that some communal service be levied on them in limitation of their clerical privilege, or some tax exacted from them, he refused ever to listen. Indeed, he set himself up as a defender of the church and a protector of the clergy even when all spoke against them. Finally, he took such a sincere interest in the life and character of each citizen that before his year was over he had learned the positions and names of the old and the young and even of the children, and what they did. He knew them as well as if he had been raised in this city. Moreover, he was so generous in showing honor to visitors that many who had formerly been enemies of the city, on account of his courtesy became its greatest friends. He loved the truthful and shunned liars, and walking the straight and narrow he fulfilled the duties of governor. In war he was spirited and daring; in peace he was gentle and mild. No one was so poor or common as not to have easy access to him or speedily obtain what was his by right. However, he was not half-hearted in imposing punishment for crime, but strict, so that no place would be given up to crime. He wielded the sword of judicial power as much to encourage good men as to punish criminals. For the good man then truly appreciated that it was in his own interest to be good, when he saw that the bad suffered as a result of their evil ways. For many who would be good by their natural bent become bad because crime goes unpunished. Conversely, some who might turn out bad from a certain impulse towards recklessness learn to be good from fear of punishment.

Voluit autem Garganus, ut non solum suo tempore, sed etiam inposterum Spalatensis civitas iusto moderamine regeretur. Fecit ergo quoddam volumen fieri, quod capitularium appellavit,¹ in quo iussit conscribi omnes consuetudines bonas quas civitas habuerat ab antiquo, superaddens multa alia iura, que videbantur necessaria in actibus publicis et privatis, videlicet in causis expediendis, in maleficiis puniendis et pro iustitia equo libramine omnibus exhibenda. Quem libellum curia semper habebat pre manibus nec absque eo iudices vel advocati ad discutienda causarum merita procedebant. Hoc capitulare transcripserunt Tragurienses et alii, quos emulatio nostri regiminis ad bona studia provocabat.

Denique transcurso iam ex maiori parte anni spatio ventum est ad electionem anni sequentis. Et cum super hoc universale agitaretur consilium, non fuit contradictio aliqua sed omnium proclamatio, ut idem Garganus ad alterius anni regimen assumi deberet. Erant tamen aliqui insolentes, qui nec ipsum nec alium pro potestate volebant, ut absque rectoris terrore viventes consuetam possent nequitiam exercere, sed non presumebant palam resistere, metuentes popularem tumultum contra se concitari. Statutum enim fuerat et sacramenti religione firmatum, ut nemo assumeretur pro comite, sed per potestates de cetero civitas regeretur, nec prima potestas ante recederet, nisi cum altera advenisset. Factam autem electionem suscepit Garganus auctumque est ei salarium in tanta quantitate pecunie, quod accedebat ad summam mille librarum nostre monete. Eodem modo electus in tertio anno suscepit regimen, sed quasi invitus, habuitque salarium mille trecentarum librarum, sotietatis tamen numerum ampliavit.

¹ Gargano's capitulary is not extant, but some charters from Split corroborate its existence. Thus, in a charter of 24 March 1256, a side in the lawsuit refers to Gargano's capitulary with the words *secundum statutum civitatis Spalati appellationem suam exequi infra terminum editum non curavit* (CD 5: 7).

Indeed, it was Gargano's desire that the city of Split should be ruled by a just government not only in his own time but thenceforward. Therefore he had a book made, which he called the capitulary,¹ in which he ordered to be written all the good customs which the city had observed from Antiquity. But in it he added many other laws that seemed necessary in public and private deeds, namely in litigation, for the punishment of crimes and in order that the scales of justice might be equally balanced in dealing out justice even-handedly to all. The court always had this book on hand, and neither judges nor lawyers would proceed to consider trying the merits of cases without it. The people of Trogir also had a copy made of this capitulary, as did others who were stimulated to worthy endeavors by a wish to match the success of our government.

But finally, when the greater part of the year had passed, the time came for the election for the following year. A universal council was held about this, and there was no opposition of any kind; all declared that Gargano ought to be given another year of government. Nevertheless, there were some shameless persons who did not want either Gargano or any other person as *podestà*, so that they might live without fear of a governor and carry on their habitual villainy. However, they did not dare to resist openly, fearing that a popular uprising against them might be occasioned. For it had already been enacted and confirmed by the sanctity of a sworn oath that no one should be chosen as count, but that the city should be ruled in the future by *podestàs*. Nor might the first *podestà* leave office before another had come. Gargano accepted the results of the election. His annual salary was increased by an amount that brought it to a thousand pounds of our money. In the same way, he was elected for a third year, and accepted the governance of the city, but, as it were, reluctantly. His salary was now thirteen hundred pounds, and he still enlarged the number of people in his entourage.

Itaque Garganus non minus in duobus sequentibus quam in primo anno fervidus, circa provectionem rei publice intentissime vigilabat. Fecit autem fieri quoddam munimentum, ubi dicitur ad Petram,¹ ut esset tutelle refugium contra predones, qui consueverant maxime de Massari monte descendere, predasque abducere ad montana. Sed multis aliis negotiorum incursibus preperditus inceptum edificiū opus intermittere coactus est.

XXXV. DE BELLO, QUOD GESSIT CUM PIRATIS

Anno autem secundo sui regiminis opus valde commendabile aggressus est. Etenim quia vir erat detestator nequitie, cepit vigilanti studio cogitare, quonam modo fieri posset, ut tam vesanam piratarum sevitiam refrenare valeret vocatisque non multis ex civibus cepit cum eis secrete tractare et eos inducere, ut bellum Deo gratum et hominibus in Almisanos inferrent. Et quamquam cerneret quosdam in facto huius negotii vacillantes nec assensum pleno corde prebentes, ardebat tamen eius animus aliquod suo tempore Deo prestare obsequium, si Dei inimicos disturbare et insequi conaretur. Tanta enim desiderii aviditate in eorum ferebatur perniciem, ut cum esset in omnibus circumspectus, non satis consulte, ut videbatur multis, in bellum processit. Nam antequam sufficientem preparationem lignorum atque armorum Spalatenses haberent auxilio fretus divino pugnandi materiam adinvenit.

Nactus vero occasionem congruam contra ipsos ex eo, quod quidam Tollen, nepos Malducis,² predam fecerat in campo Spalatensi, palam arma parari constituit. Et cum pecuniam pro ipsa preda solvere pacti fuissent eamque solvere denegarent,

¹ The stronghold was built on a rock called Kamen (meaning 'the rock') on the eastern side of the Spalatin district (*Campus Spalatensis*). The present-day settlement is to the north of the medieval stronghold.

² That is, Toljen of Poljica; see above, p. 229.

And so Gargano was no less zealous in the two following years than in the first, as he ever kept an ever-watchful eye over the progress of the state. Moreover, he commissioned a stronghold to be built at a place called Kamen,¹ to serve as a safe refuge against the brigands who came down especially from Mount Mosor, and carried off booty to the mountains. But although it was begun, he was forced by the pressure of other affairs to leave off work on the building.

35 THE WAR THAT HE WAGED WITH THE PIRATES

In the second year of his governance, Gargano embarked on a most commendable undertaking. Since he was a man who hated evil-doing, he began to consider earnestly what might be done to curb the raging violence of the pirates. He summoned a small number of the citizens and began to confer with them secretly, hoping to convince them to make war on the men of Omiš, a war that would be pleasing to both God and man. And in spite of the fact that he saw that some were wavering at the thought of this and were not giving their whole-hearted agreement, still his heart yearned to perform some service to God in his period of rule, if he made an effort to dislodge and hunt down God's enemies. In fact, so great was the eagerness that drove him to seek their destruction that although he was in all respects a cautious man, many people considered that he was proceeding to war without sufficient deliberation. For before the Spalatins had prepared an adequate supply of ships and weapons, Gargano put his trust in divine aid and looked to discover a pretext for war.

He found a suitable occasion when a certain Toljen, nephew of Malduč,² had made a raid on the countryside of Split, whereupon he determined that arms should be readied openly. And when they refused to pay compensation for what they had plundered, after they had agreed to do so, this provided the Spalatins with

tunc facta est Spalatensibus iusta occasio insurgendi unanimiter contra eos. Tunc potestas, ut erat sagax homo, cepit dissimulare aliquandiu, temptans si foret possibile insidiosè invadere castrum. Sed positarum insidiarum conatus frustra processit, nam castrensiū vigiles presenserunt; ceperunt ergo manifeste bellum eis inferre. Itaque armatis lignis quæ habebant, quamvis non satis forent ad bellum habilia, navigaverunt et applicuerunt ad insulam Bratiam. Et recensitus est numerus navalis exercitus, et inventi sunt ex Spalatensibus fere mille ducenti armati. Dederunt autem Tragurienses auxilium, sed pigrum satis et tenue.¹

Tenebant autem eo tempore insulas Faron et Bratiam Pribislaus² et Osor,³ filii Malducis de Almisio. Tunc potestas misit ad insulanos precipiens, ut statim ad eos accederent, et spreto dominio Almisianorum recipiant dominium Spalatensium. Illi autem valde gratanti animo accesserunt et iurantes omnimodam subiectionem tradiderunt ex potestatis precepto omnia bona Almisianorum, quæ erant in insula, greges, armenta et sata et universa, quæ pertinebant ad ipsos. Quæ omnia receperunt Spalatenses et transposuerunt ea in terra, alia in Appuliam vendenda miserunt, alia in eadem insula custodiri fecerunt. Osor autem, qui erat comes eiusdem insule, eo tempore aberat, Almisiani vero armatis clanculo lignis navigaverunt latenter ad insulam et invaserunt quatuor barcusios⁴ Spalatensium, qui erant missi ab exercitu ad aliud insule caput. Verum tamen nec unum hominem capere potuerunt. Tunc potestas, relictis ad custodiam insule duobus nobilibus viris, Lampredio et Stephano, tradita eis solitudine quinquaginta bonorum iuvenum ex popularibus civitatis,

¹ According to the peace treaty of 1239, the Tragurins had to participate in naval conflicts of the Spalatins with two smaller ships and other vessels according to their ability (CD 4: 84–6).

² Pribislav is mentioned as the count of Hvar in 1226 (CD 3: 254). He is also mentioned in several documents among the leading men of Omiš from 1239 to 1245 (CD 4: 77, 268).

³ Osor is mentioned as the count of the island of Brač in 1240 (*Serie* 8: 60–4) and from 1239 to 1258 among the leading men of Omiš (CD 4: 77; CD 5: 105).

a just cause to proceed against them, united in purpose. Thereupon the *podestà*, who was a shrewd man, began to temporize a little, to see if it would first be possible to seize their stronghold by some trick. But an attempt to mount a surprise attack was frustrated when the watch at the fortress got wind of what was afoot. Thereupon, they began to make war openly on them. They equipped the ships that they had, although these were not very suitable for war, and setting sail they landed at the island of Brač. A review was made of the number of the forces on the ships, and it was found that from the Spalatins there were some twelve hundred men-at-arms. Trogir also supplied aid, but it was meager and very slow in coming.¹

At this time the islands of Hvar and Brač were held by Pribislav² and Osor,³ the sons of Malduč of Omiš. The *podestà* thereupon sent word to the islanders, ordering them to appear at once before the Spalatins, to reject the lordship of the men of Omiš, and to accept the lordship of the Spalatins. The islanders came most gladly. They swore complete submission and, on the instructions of the *podestà*, handed over all the goods belonging to the men of Omiš that were on the island: their flocks, herds, and crops and everything that they owned. The Spalatins received all of these things and removed them to the mainland; some they sent to Apulia to be sold, while others they left under guard on that same island. Now Osor, who was count of that island, was away at that time. But the men of Omiš covertly fitted out their ships and sailed unobserved to the island. There they attacked four Spalatin barques⁴ that had been sent out from their main force to a headland elsewhere on the island; however, they were unable to capture a single person. The *podestà* then left two noblemen, Lampredius and Stephen, to guard the island, giving them a company of fifty brave young

⁴ Barque, a kind of bigger ship.

ipse cum toto exercitu repedavit ad urbem. Auxit autem exercitum et abiit ad vineta hostium cepitque ea passim destruere, succidere arbores et culta omnia devastare.

Interea quadam die advesperascente iam hora ecce Osor belli nescius cum armato ligno ab insula versus Almisium remigabat. Spalatenses vero videntes et cognoscentes ipsum esse festinanter preparaverunt se circumdare ipsum et capere. Factum est autem et appropinquante Osor, Spalatenses cum sua numerositate lignorum subito prorumpunt ex portu et sparsim remigantes circumvallant equor, ne qua parte via pateret hostibus evadendi. Videns autem Osor hostilibus se circumseptum catervis, non potuit divertere sed cohortatus suos, inter omnia Spalatensium ligna irruens, ulterius remigavit. Et dum iam constringi, dum teneri putatur, ipse, velud anguilla lubrica, de manibus compriementium elapsus est et evasit. De cuius evasione Spalatenses multum tristes effecti, ad propria sunt reversi.

Tunc Osor, qui ceteris erat fratribus insolentior, cepit toto suo conamine preparare se ad defendendum et resistendum contra Spalatensium incepta. Et ut erat consuetus, convocavit ad se omnes viros sanguinum et dans eis stipendia cum fratribus suis, quia piraticis erant opibus admodum locupletes, omnes, quas habebant liburnas, multo plures et meliores quam Spalatensium armaverunt. Et exeuntes ab Almisio, ceperunt occulte et manifeste et quacumque arte poterant offendere Spalatenses.

Cum ergo Spalatenses cernerent, quod inimici eorum a rigore sue nequitie cervices nequaquam flecterent sed ad nocendum essent totis viribus preparati, ceperunt penitere incepti contra

men provided from among the commoners of the town, and turned back with the rest of army to the city. He then strengthened the numbers of the army and departed for the enemy's vineyards, which he set about destroying at random, cutting down trees and laying waste all the cultivated land.

Meanwhile, one day as evening was approaching, Osor, who knew nothing of the war, was on an armed ship rowing from the island towards Omiš. When the Spalatins saw it and recognized who it was, they swiftly prepared to encircle and capture him. And so indeed they did: as Osor approached, the Spalatins suddenly sallied forth from the harbor with their large number of ships, and rowing in different directions they blockaded the sea all around so that no way might lie open on any side for their enemy to escape. Osor saw that he was surrounded by enemy forces and was unable to slip aside; nevertheless, urging his men to courage he charged the whole throng of Spalatin ships, and sailed out the other side! Just as they thought that they had him trapped and in their grip, like a slippery eel he slipped out of the hands closing their grip upon him and escaped. The Spalatins returned to base, greatly saddened at Osor's escape.

Then Osor, the boldest of the brothers, began to prepare with all his might to defend himself and to resist the Spalatins' designs. As was his custom, he summoned all of his kinsmen and hired them for the service of himself and his brothers. Then he and his brothers (who were richly supplied with pirate treasure) equipped and armed all the longships that they had—which were much more numerous and much better than those of the Spalatins. And proceeding from Omiš they began secretly, openly, and by whatever means they could to strike against the Spalatins.

When, therefore, the Spalatins perceived that their enemies were in no way prepared to abandon their stubborn wickedness but had readied all their forces in order to inflict injury on

potestatem maxime obloquentes, quod improvide et inconsulte ante sufficientem preparationem lignorum et armorum bellum voluit atemptare. Tunc Garganus curarum pondere inquietus huc et illuc mente rapiebatur pertractans, qualiter hostium audatiam suppeditare valeret. Fecit autem fieri unum lignum trireme in modum galee, quod esset ceteris velocius et eminentius, quod infra viginti ferme dierum spatium totum de novo fabricatum est et expletum. Sed hoc erat, quod maxime potestatem affligebat, quia videbat cives non ex corde contra hostes arma movere vix enim cum magna difficultate cogere eos poterat ad ligna intrare.

Itaque comes Osor cum sua classe in vigilia Apostolorum¹ adnavigavit in insulam Soltam, quam percurrentes hostiliter ceperunt obviantia queque vastare. Custodes vero insule cum colonis atiem struentes, ut poterant, aliquandiu resistere. Sed cum essent hostium respectu paucissimi, consultum volentes esse vite sue, campum hostibus relinquentes ad tutiora loca se contulerunt. Tunc Almisani liberum se cursum habere videntes, ceperunt ad predam undique debachari, invadere rusticos, mulieres opprimere, comburere segetes et mala omnia perpetrare. Venientes autem ad ecclesiam beati Stephani,² diripuerunt quicquid in domo erat, flammis eam succedentes. Ad ultimum vero ecclesiam ingressi, paganorum more altariola fregerunt, spargentes reliquias, ac ausu nefandissimo ipsam sacrosancti corporis eucharistiam, que super altari pendebat, sceleratis manibus

¹ The feast of SS. Philip and James was in Italy and other Mediterranean countries also called *Dies Apostolorum*, and Thomas uses that name here. Thus, the event described here happened on 30 April. See A. Cappelli, *Cronologia, cronografia e calendario perpetuo dal principio dell'era Cristiana ai nostri giorni* (Milan: Hoepli, 1983), p. 108.

² The church of St. Stephen is the three-nave palaeochristian basilica from the sixth or seventh century in Grohote on the island of Šolta. Its remains have been found in archaeological excavations. See Franko Oreb, "Prehistorijsko,

them, they began to regret the undertaking, and attacked the *podestà* in particular for having improvidently and unadvisedly sought to make war without sufficient provision of ships and arms. Then Gargano, chafing under the burden of his troubles, turned his thoughts this way and that, considering how he might find means to counter the daring of the enemy. So he had a ship built with three banks of oars, like a galley, so that it might be faster and higher than others, and it was built and completed within the space of about twenty days from start to finish. But what most troubled the *podestà* was when he saw that the citizens were not taking up arms against the enemy enthusiastically; indeed, it was only with the greatest difficulty that he was able to induce them to board the ships.

Then Count Osor sailed with his fleet to the island of Šolta on the eve of the feast of the Apostles.¹ They rode about the island in hostile fashion, laying waste everything in their path. The guards of the islands and the countrymen assembled a battle force and resisted for some time as best they could. But they were far too few relative to the enemy, so to safeguard their own lives they abandoned the open ground to the enemy and retreated to safer places. Then the men of Omiš, on seeing that they now had a free hand, began to rage furiously everywhere in pursuit of booty, attacking the peasants, assaulting the women, burning crops, and committing every kind of mischief. Moreover, when they came to the church of Saint Stephen,² they looted everything in the presbytery and set it on fire. In the end they entered the church, and there in the manner of pagans they smashed the smaller altars to pieces, scattering the sacred relics, and in the most wicked act of all, they laid their criminal hands on the consecrated body of the host, which was hanging

antičko i starokršćansko razdoblje na otoku Šolti” [The prehistory, antiquity and palaeochristian period on the island of Šolta], in Miro A. Mihovilović *et al.*, *Otok Šolta* [The island of Šolta] (Zagreb: Mladost, 1990), pp. 63–6.

contingentes deiecerunt in terram.¹ Mox vero, quasi leta potiti victoria, cum exultatione ad propria remearunt.

Sed benedictus Deus, qui non in longum passus est tanti sceleris dormire vindictam, die namque tertia iterum multiplicatis suarum apparatibus copiarum exierunt ab Almisio et navigaverunt ad insulas occupandas. Et primo quidem medio noctis tempore applicuerunt ad Bratiam et exeuntes de lignis optime se armarunt. Et exstruentes aties ascenderunt summo diluculo ex orientali capite et adhuc soporatis hominibus repente irruerunt in vicos capientes homines, predas rapientes, domos ignibus concremantes.

Et ecce rumor huius pestis per totam insulam subito evolavit gelidusque tremor per omnium membra cucurrit. Tunc quinquagenarii illi, qui ad custodiam insule fuerunt deputati, preparaverunt se viriliter ad pugnandum. Miserunt autem, ut omnes insulani accurrerent ad auxilium impendendum. Ipsi vero ceperunt paulatim incedere versus eos. Et ecce turma quedam apparuit eminus in convalle, quam multitudo cetera sequebatur. Nostri vero desuper intuentes substiterunt et ceperunt deliberare inter se quid facto opus esset. Nondum enim ex insulanis nisi pauci convenerant. Hostes vero videntes nostrorum turmulam quasi pavidam non crediderunt eos fore ausos ad conflictum accedere; quam ob rem putabant eos primo insultu in fugam vertere. Unde omnes simul conglobati ceperunt vociferando contra eos incidere. Nostris vero quamvis temerarium videretur, cum pauci essent, contra multitudinem dimicare, fedum tamen et valde ignominiosum esse putabant, si absque belli impulsu et solo visu pavefacti eis cedendum putarent. Tunc ipsis cunctantibus et suum consilium in diversa voluentibus, hostes magis ac magis appropinquabant. Mox vero

¹ One of the ways of keeping the Eucharist during the Middle Ages was to hold it in a dove or pyx hanging over the altar, a practice that was later exchanged for keeping it in the tabernacle.

above the main altars, and threw it to the ground.¹ Then, as if a joyous victory had been obtained, they went back to their homes exulting.

But God be praised who did not suffer the punishment for such wickedness to remain dormant for long! On the third day again the enemy left Omiš with an enlarged force of men and sailed to take possession of the islands. First of all, they landed at Brač some time in the middle of the night. They debarked from their ships, armed themselves very carefully, and drawing up in battle formation they climbed at first break of day from the eastern cape. And while people were still asleep, they suddenly attacked the settlements, seizing persons, taking plunder, and burning down houses.

Immediately report of this disaster flew all across the island, and a shiver passed through the limbs of all. But those fifty-year-olds who had been assigned to guard the island manfully readied themselves to fight. However, they sent messages to all the inhabitants of the island to come and lend aid. Meanwhile, they themselves began to advance slowly towards the enemy. Then all of a sudden a troop of them was sighted in the distance in an enclosed valley, marching in advance of the main force. Our men, looking down on them from above, halted and started to debate what they should do. For so far only a few of the islanders had assembled. Now the enemy caught sight of our little band, seized as it were by terror. They never believed that they would dare to engage in battle. Indeed, they thought that they would send them running at the first onslaught. So they all drew up in close formation and proceeded to advance against them, shouting fiercely. To our forces, being few in number, it seemed foolhardy to engage the whole multitude; yet they regarded it a great shame and dishonor to withdraw in fear at the mere sight of them and never strike a warlike blow. But while they hesitated and thought of different plans, the enemy were drawing ever closer. Then as it were a certain spirit

quasi quidam constantie spiritus in eorum visceribus incallescere cepit statimque unus eorum, qui preerat quinquagenariis illis, Stephanus nomine, factus audatior dixit: «Eia viri, nonne scitis, iustam nos bellandi causam habere? Non recordamini, quod hii, qui contra nos veniunt Deo et hominibus odibiles piratae sunt? Numquid non a tota christianitate anathematizati et execrati habentur? Nos Deus et iustitia proteget, illos sua iniquitas confundet. Nulla ergo sit trepidatio, viriliter agite et confortamini, quia Deus dabit victoriam de inimicis suis». Ad hanc vocem omnes exilarati ceperunt commendare se Deo et beato Domnio. Tunc ordinantes se ceperunt contra hostes audacter incedere. Factum est autem, ut ambe aties minimo iam essent intervallo propinque, exclamavit Stephanus: «Vindica, Domine, sanguinem servorum tuorum, qui ab his canibus effusus est.» Tunc ceperunt altrinsecus sagittis et iaculis magno strepitu dimicare. Cum autem manu ad manum coniuncti iam gladiis et pugionibus commixtim instarent, parva mora utrinque certatum est. Et ecce, pars Almisanorum, quasi celitus percussa, repente disrupta est. Et cum non multi vulnerati, non multi trucidati fuissent ex eis, subito terga vertentes fugati sunt attonitique velud amentes huc illucque discurrunt.

At nostrorum victrix sotietas, gratias agens Deo, qui percutit impios, et saluat sperantes in se, a tergo percutere fugientes, ligare captivos, arma diripere non cessabant. Sed quia pauci erant, non poterant eos usquequaque insequi oberrantes. Persecuti autem eos sunt usque ad puppes biremium suarum. Ecce autem invenerunt comitem Osor, utraque manu debilitatum, sub armis anelantem et diffugium ad mare querentem. Statim ergo, ut cognoverunt eum, circumdederunt ipsum. Et cum unus eorum

of determination began to take light in their innards, and forthwith one of them, the leader of those fifty-year-olds, whose name was Stephen, now bolder than the rest, said, "Hey, men, surely you know that we have a just cause for making war! Don't you remember that those coming against us are pirates, detested by God and man? Are they not held accursed and excommunicate by all of Christendom? God and justice will protect us, and they will be confounded for their wickedness. So let there be no quavering; play the man and take strength, for God will grant victory over His enemies!" At these words all took heart, and they proceeded to commend themselves to God and Saint Domnius. Thereupon they drew up their lines and started to advance boldly against the enemy. Then, as the two battlelines were only the narrowest distance apart, Stephen cried out, "Lord, take vengeance on the blood of your servants, which these dogs have spilt!" Then battle was joined with great uproar and a volley of arrows and spears on both sides. Locked in hand-to-hand conflict they pressed forward in one mass, fighting with swords and daggers. The struggle on both sides lasted but a short while. Then all at once those on the side of the men of Omiš, as if struck by a blow from the heavens, suddenly burst asunder. Although no great number on their side had been wounded or cut down, all of a sudden they turned tail and scattered in flight, running in a daze in all directions, as if they had lost their wits.

But our victorious company, even as they uttered thanks to God for striking down the unholy and saving those who put their hopes in Him, did not pause a moment from pursuit. They struck down their fleeing enemies from behind, bound the captives and seized their arms. But being few in number they were unable to catch them all as they ran this way and that. Still, they pursued them as far as the sterns of their ships. There they found Count Osor, panting and still in his armor, but with both arms injured, and intent on escaping by sea. As soon as they recognized him they surrounded him, and one of

elevato gladio super caput ipsius vibrasset, Lampredius, super ipsum toto corpore se prosternens, non permisit eum interfici, sed captum et ligatum ad descensum ducentes in custodia posuerunt. Ceperunt autem et ex melioribus multos, quos omnes ergastulis mancipantes, potestatis arbitrio servaverunt. Porro hi, qui ad mare evadere potuerunt, concite se impellentes a terra tremebundi et anxii raro remigio ad propria se traxerunt. Sequenti vero die exierunt nostri, ut investigantes caperent, qui latebant. Et ecce invenerunt multos ex melioribus absque ullo vulnere iacentes exanimis inter vepres. Et hoc quasi miraculose contigit, ut absque humana percussione a sua nequitia perfracti iacerent. Nam et ex eis quidam, qui ad ligna confugerant, antequam applicarent ad terram, spiritum exhalarent. De nostris vero nec unus quidem occubuit. Cum autem nuntios ad civitatem misissent, triumphum victoriae referentes, non credebatur Garganus pre gaudio, admirans quomodo fieri potuit, ut parva manus hominum et ipsa modicum bellandi exercitatione perita tantam potuit superare multitudinem, que frequenti inebriata cruore, pro nichilo consuevit ducere mortis periculum in pugne conflictu. Tandem certificati de leto eventu victoriae cum magna festinatione et exultatione armaverunt liburnas et ad insulam navigaverunt.

Miserunt autem et fecerunt omnes captivos ad mare adduci. Cum autem ductus fuisset comes Osor cum ceteris maioribus coram potestate, cepit Garganus dicere insultando: «O comes Osor, ubi tantus elationis fastus? Ubi tante preminentie potentatus? Ecce, quo devolutus es, qui nec imperatores, nec reges credebatur esse pares potentie tue! Disce iam, quia plus potest divina iustitia quam humana temeritas.» His dictis fecit omnes vinctis a tergo manibus introduci ad ligna et sic ad civitatem

their number raised his sword over Osor's head to strike him. But Lampredius threw himself bodily over him and would not let them kill him. So instead they seized and bound him, and leading him to their camp they put him under guard. They also took many of the more prestigious among them and put them in irons, to be kept there pending a decision by the *podestà*. Those who managed to escape to sea launched their ships hastily from the land in trembling and panic, and dragged themselves back home, rowing feebly. The following day our men went out to track down and seize any who were in hiding. To their surprise, they found many sound men lying dead among the bracken without any wound upon them. And it seemed as if miraculous that they lay bereft of life with any blow struck by man, the victims of their own wickedness. Indeed, even of those who had made it to the refuge of their ships there were a number who expired before they reached land. But of our men not a single one lost his life. When the message reached the city telling of the triumphant victory, Gargano was too overjoyed to believe it. He marveled how it could be that a small band of men, and with no great practice in warfare, could have bettered such a vast number intoxicated on repeated bloodshed and accustomed to thinking nothing of the danger of death in battle. But when they were finally assured of the joyful victory, they readied their longships with great speed and exultation and sailed to the island.

They sent messengers and ordered all the prisoners to be brought to the shore. When Osor was brought with the other leaders into the presence of the *podestà*, Gargano began to heap scorn upon him, saying, "So, Count Osor, where is your lofty pride? Where is your power and eminence? See to where you have been reduced, you who used to believe that not even kings and emperors were a match for your might. Now learn that the justice of God has more effect than human presumption!" Having said this he had their hands bound behind their backs and had them all taken to the ships, and from there to the city. As

venerunt. Mox autem ut civitatem ingressi sunt, fecit potestas omnes duci ad carceres et constringi ligno pedes eorum posuitque custodias circa ipsos, comitem vero et maiores ferreis compedibus vinctos fecit sub palatio suo arctissime custodie mancipari. Mitius a principio cepit agere cum eis, expectans si forte emollirentur corda eorum et ad ipsius venirent mandata. Sed cum videret eos in sua malitia obduratos, ita ut ad bonam pacis conditionem aliquo pacto flecti nequirent, cepit eos carcerali squalore affligere, inedia macerare, quosdam etiam verberibus torquere. Sic autem extorsit ab eis non parvam pecunie quantitatem.

Tunc cepit pacis colloquium fieri inter ipsos.¹ Promittebat siquidem comes omnia ligna piratica in manibus tradere potestatis et quod numquam alia facerent ad cursum denuo exercendum. Et cum talis pactio Spalatensibus complaceret, statim Almisienses resiliabant, adeo durissimum videbatur eis a consueta nequitia ex toto cessare. Sed potestas non aliter eorum relaxationi acquiescere volebat, nisi ex eorum manibus excuteret gladium, quo in insontes latrocinando grassari solebant. Conabatur quippe potestas tota cordis intentione pestem piratice vesanie prorsus extinguere, magnum se Deo prestare obsequium arbitratus, si tante impietati finem imponere potuisset. Inducebat autem eos ad iuste vivendum, nunc blandis verbis comonens, nunc terrores incutiens. Ipsi vero, ut perverse mentis homines, callida simulatione deducebant consilia potestatis, mallentes penaliter servire diabolo, quam iustam et tranquillam secundum Deum agere vitam. Talibus ergo versutiis utentes promissis decem mensibus in carcere iacuerunt. Tandem vero videntes fratres comitis cum

¹ The treaty between Brač and Split was signed on 19 May 1240 (CD 4: 112–3).

soon as they entered the city, on the orders of the *podestà* they were taken to the prison, where their legs were put in wooden stocks and a guard was mounted over them. The count and the more important prisoners were put in iron shackles, and the *podestà* had them put under the strictest guard and incarcerated beneath his palace. At first he treated them relatively leniently, to see if they might soften and incline to his wishes; but when he saw that they were obdurate in their wickedness, and could not be induced by any negotiation to adopt a decent and peaceful life, he subjected them to a harsher regimen in prison, left them to go hungry, and had some of them beaten severely. By these means he was able to extract from them a considerable sum of money.

At this stage the talk between them turned to peace.¹ The count promised to hand over to the *podestà* all the pirate vessels and never in future to build other ones to carry out new raids. But in spite of the fact that the Spalatins were pleased with these conditions, the men of Omiš soon changed their minds: for they felt that it was extremely hard for them to abandon totally the evil ways to which they were used. However, the *podestà* was not prepared to agree to their release unless the sword of piracy with which they were wont to threaten innocent lives was taken from their hands. The *podestà* was bent with all his heart and soul on extinguishing once and for all the raging scourge of piracy, believing that he would be doing a great service in the eyes of God if he could put an end to this unholy practice. He tried to induce them to adopt a decent and law-abiding life, using at one moment gentle words of advice, at another threatening the worst. But they were men of perverse mind. They slyly pretended to go along with the advice of the *podestà*, preferring the service of the devil and the consequent punishment to leading a quiet and law-abiding life accordingly to God's law. They spent ten months in prison trying out their tricks and promises. But in the end the brothers of the count and the other persons saw that their captive fellows would never escape the

ceteris, quod nullo modo de potestatis manibus evadere poterant eorum captivi nisi ligna Spalatensibus traderent et cursum penitus resignarent, tunc acquieverunt ad omnia et miserunt Spaletum sex ligna, que habebant maiora, et alia quedam, que ceperant, minora. Pacti sunt autem, quod numquam ad latrocinandum exirent, iuramenti se vinculi astringentes et obligantes, quod, si quando in contrarium facerent, tenerentur soluere Spalatensibus duo millia iberperorum, et quod ab offensione istorum precipue abstinerent, videlicet Spalatensium, Venetorum et Anconitanorum; imperatori¹ namque obsides dederant, ut nullam in toto regno Appulie lesionem inferrent. Iuraverunt etiam, ut omnibus amicis et iuratis Spalatensium eadem pacis federa observarent. Et sic eorum captivi relaxati sunt omnes.

XXXVI. DE PESTE TARTARORUM²

Anno quinto regnante Bela, filio Andree regis Hungarie,³ secundo anno Gargani, genus pestifera Tartarorum ad partes Hungarie propinquavit. Etenim a pluribus iam annis rumor et timor gentis ipsius in totum processerat orbem. Venerant namque ex partibus orientis depopulando provincias, per quas habuerunt transitum, usque ad confinia Rutenorum.⁴ Sed Rutenis fortiter resistentibus non potuerunt ulterius progredi, multotiens enim conflictum habuerunt cum gentibus Rutenorum multumque cruoris fusum est hinc et inde, longe tamen fugati sunt a Rutenis.⁵ Quam ob rem divertentes ab eis universas septentrionales regiones pugnando circuierunt ibique viginti et eo

¹ That is, to Emperor Frederick II (1220–50), who was, as the ruler of the kingdom of Sicily, also interested in the suppression of piracy in the Adriatic.

² For more details regarding the Mongol invasion of Hungary and Central Europe, see James Ross Sweeney, "Thomas of Spalato and the Mongols: a Thirteenth-Century Dalmatian View of Mongol Customs," *Florilegium* 4 (1982): 156–83, and James Ross Sweeney and Hansgerd Göckenjan, *Der Mongolensturm* (Graz: Styria, 1985).

³ Béla IV (1235–70), son of Andrew II, was crowned on 14 October 1235.

⁴ That is, the principalities of Kievan Rus'.

hands of the *podestà* unless they handed over the ships to Split and gave up their piratical careers entirely. Thereupon they acquiesced to all terms, and sent to Split the six large vessels that they had, together with a number of other smaller ones that they had captured. Moreover, they undertook that they would never venture out on pirate raids, binding themselves on oath and undertaking that if they ever did otherwise, they would be obliged to pay Split two thousand *iperperi*, and in particular that they would refrain from doing harm to the people of Split, Venice and Ancona. For they had already given hostages to the emperor,¹ to assure him that they would do no harm to any part of Apulia. They also swore that they would observe the same terms of peace with the friends of Split or the sworn allies of Split. And on these terms their prisoners were all set free.

36 THE TATAR PLAGUE²

In the fifth year of the reign of Béla son of Andrew, King of Hungary,³ and the second year of Gargano, the noxious race of the Tatars drew near the land of Hungary. Already for many years fearful rumors of this people had been crossing the world. For they had come out of the lands of the east, laying waste the regions through which they passed as far as the borders of Ruthenia.⁴ But the Ruthenians fought back stoutly, and they were not able to progress further. For they fought many battles with the Ruthenians, and much blood was spilt on both sides, but the Ruthenians drove them far back.⁵ For this reason they turned aside and instead waged war around all the regions to

⁵ The reference is to the battle of the River Kalka (31 May 1223), after which the Mongols withdrew—mysteriously, to Western eyes—beyond the Urals. Thomas mistakenly attributes the Mongol departure from Europe to a victory. He is only slightly more accurate in placing the renewed Mongol attack upon Rus' after a lapse of "twenty years or more." The actual time was fourteen years; a renewed assault got underway during the winter of 1237–8; see George Vernadsky, *Kievan Russia*, 2nd ed. (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1972), pp. 237–40.

amplius annis demorati sunt. Postea vero multiplicatis legionibus exercitus sui ex gentibus precipue Cumanorum¹ et ex multis aliis nationibus, quas devicerant, reversi sunt ad Rutenos. Et primo quidem civitatem maximam Christianorum, nomine Susdaliū circumdantes obsederunt et obsessam diu non tam vi quam fraude ceperunt et destruxerunt regemque ipsius, nomine Georgium, cum magna multitudine sui populi neci dederunt.² Inde autem versus Hungariam proficiscentes obvia queque vastabant. Eo autem tempore, anno videlicet incarnationis millesimo CCXLI sexto die intrante Octobri, die dominica, iterum factus est solis defectus totusque aer obscuratus est, fuit orror magnus in omnibus, velud in ea eclipsi, que facta est tertio anno precedente, ut supra tetigimus.³

Igitur cum rumor exitialis adventus Tartaree gentis ad aures perstreperet Hungarorum, quasi ludus quidam vel inane sompnum videbatur eis, tum quia tales rumores frustra sepe audiverant, tum etiam quia de copiosa sui regni militia confidebant. Erant tamen longa pace dissoluti, armorum asperitate desueti, non nisi carnalibus gaudentes illecebris ignavie torpore marcebant. Etenim terra Hungarica omnibus bonis locuplex et fecunda causam prestabat suis filiis ex rerum copia immoderatis delitiis delectari. Quod enim aliud erat iuvenilis etatis studium, nisi polire cesariem, cutem mundare, virilem habitum in

¹ The Cumans (also called Polovci in Russian) were a nomadic people in the steppe areas between the Danube and the Caspian Sea (in present-day Ukraine and Russia) from the eleventh century onwards. In the aforementioned Mongol campaigns of 1223 and 1237–8 they were, in fact, the allies of the princes of Kievan Rus' and were attacked and partly occupied by the Mongols. In 1239 a part of them led by Khan Köten fled to Hungary, which was a sort of *casus belli* for the Mongol invasion that followed. For the Cumans, see Nora Berend, *At the Gate of Christendom: Jews, Muslims and 'Pagans' in Medieval Hungary, c. 1000 – c. 1300* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001).

² Suzdal, a city and principality in north-eastern Russia. The city was taken by the Mongols on 5 February 1238. Prince Yuri II (George), grand duke of Suzdal, was defeated and killed in battle on 4 March 1238. This event is taken

the north. And there they stayed for twenty years or more. Thereafter, once they had swelled the ranks of their hosts, particularly with Cumans,¹ as well as with many other nations that they had conquered, they returned once more to Ruthenia. First they settled around one of the greatest cities of the Christians, Suzdal, and besieged it. After a long siege they captured the city not so much by force as by deceit. They destroyed it and put to death its king, whose name was George, and a great number of his people.² Then they turned towards Hungary, laying waste everything in their path. At that time, namely the year of the Incarnation 1241, on the sixth day of October, a Sunday, there was another eclipse of the sun. The whole air was darkened, and all people were seized by great horror, as with the eclipse that had occurred three years previously, as we have mentioned above.³

So when rumor of the fatal coming of the Tatars reached the ears of the people of Hungary, they treated it as some kind of joke or an empty dream: partly because such rumors had been heard many times before, and nothing had come of them, partly too because they had confidence in the great military forces of their kingdom. But after long years of peace these were run down, they had lost the habit of hard fighting, and they had grown lazy, weak and idle, taking pleasure only in the enticements of the flesh. For although the land of Hungary is rich and abounds in all good things, this gave her sons the excuse to indulge themselves immoderately in the wealth of delights that she offered. For what else interested the young people than to attend to their hair, to take care of their complexions, and

to mark the collapse of Russian resistance to the Mongol advance; see George Vernadsky, *The Mongols and Russia* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1953), p. 51, and James Chambers, *The Devil's Horsemen: The Mongol Invasion of Europe* (New York: Atheneum, 1979), pp. 74–5.

³ See above, ch. 33, p. 229.

muliebrem cultum mutare? Tota dies exquisitis conviviis aut mollibus expendebatur iocis. Nocturnos sopores vix hora diei tertia terminabat. Cuncta quidem sue vite tempora in apricis silvis et amenis pratis cum uxoribus transigentes non de bellorum strepitu cogitare poterant qui non seria sed ludicra cotidie contrectabant.¹ At vero, quibus erat mens sanior, feralibus nuntiis excitati pestifere gentis metuebant incursum. Quam ob rem regem et principes crebris sollicitabant alloquiis, ut tanto precaverent malo, ne forte subita fieret impie gentis irruptio et maiorem pernitiem inferrent incautis.

Vix tandem rex his pulsatus clamoribus comovit se et abiit ad extrema sui regni venitque ad montes,² qui sunt inter Ruteniam et Hungariam et usque ad confinia Polonorum, inde circuiens et circumspectans cunctos infirmiores terre ingressus, cesis ingentibus silvis, longas fieri fecit indagine obstruens transiectis arboribus universa loca, que ad transeundum facilia videbantur. Et tunc reversus misit et congregari fecit omnes principes, cunctos barones et proceres regni sui cunctumque robur Hungarici exercitus contraxit in unum.³ Venit autem Colomannus rex, frater eius, cum omni potentatu suo. Venerunt et presules Hungarie, qui et ipsi non contenti sobriam ecclesiastice moderationis habere familiam, immo pre divitiarum magnitudine magnas militum aties ductitabant. Affuit Mathias Strigonensis,⁴ accessit Hugrinus Collocensis⁵ archiepiscopi, uterque cum suf-

¹ These features were typical of the censure of youth by their elders, but are here pointed specifically at the young men of one country.

² The Carpathians.

³ This is a reference to an early and extraordinary session of the Hungarian Diet at the beginning of Lent in 1241. In another report of this event, *Carmen miserabile super destructione regni Hungarie temporibus Bele IV regis per Tartaros facta*, Roger, later archbishop of Split (see below, ch. 46–9), locates it in Buda (cap. 15), see Rogerius, “Carmen miserabile,” ed. by László Juhász, in *SRA* 2: 561.

to prefer womanish clothing to manly attire. Their whole day was spent in elaborate banquets and effeminate frivolities. They slept from night at least until the third hour of the day. Every day of their life they passed in sunlit woods and pleasant pastures, and who daily concerned themselves with trifles rather than serious affairs, were unable to think of the sounds of war.¹ All the same, those of sounder mind were disturbed by the dire rumors and fearful of an invasion by these pestilential peoples. So the leading men spoke often to the king and warned him to take precautions against the menace, lest the godless race suddenly burst upon them and cause all the greater harm because they were unprepared.

At last, roused by their loud protests, the king stirred himself and set off for the furthest bounds of his realm. He came to the mountains² that run between Hungary and Ruthenia as far as the borders of Poland. There he went about inspecting all the easiest entry points to breach, and cutting down much woodland, he had long barricades built, blocking with felled trees all the places where transit seemed easiest. Then on his return he sent out messengers and summoned all the leading men, barons and eminent figures of his realm, and gathered into one place the whole strength of the armed forces of Hungary.³ His brother Coloman also came, with all his forces. The leading clergy of Hungary came, too; for they were not content to maintain modest households befitting leaders of the church, but with their great wealth they had grown accustomed to leading about whole companies of knights. They included the archbishops Matthias of Esztergom⁴ and Ugrinus of Kalocsa⁵

⁴ Matthias of the Rátót kindred, provost of Zágráb/Zagreb and royal chancellor (1235–7), bishop of Vác (1238–40), archbishop of Esztergom (1240–1). He died fighting the Mongols at Muhi (see below).

⁵ Ugrinus of the Csák kindred had been royal chancellor during the reign of Andrew II between 1217 and 1219 and again from 1230 to 1235. He was elected to the archiepiscopal dignity of the double see of Kalocsa and Bács in 1219, and remained so until his death in the battle of Muhi in 1241 (see below).

fraganeis suis.¹ Quos secuta est magna multitudo prelatorum et relligiosorum, qui omnes ad castra regia congregati sunt, quasi oves ad victimam. Tunc ceperunt universale consilium agitare diebus non paucis contractantes, qualiter adventantibus Tartaris esset consultius occurrendum. Et cum diversi diversa sentirent, nullum volebant consilium concorditer stabilire. Alii terrore torpentes nimio dicebant cedendum eis fore ad tempus, nec esse confligendum cum eis, utpote cum hominibus barbaris et desperate salutis, qui non pro regnandi cupiditate sed pro predarum aviditate per mundum pugnando discurrent. At vero alii securitate fatua dissoluti dicebant ad primam ostentationem nostre multitudinis eos esse in fugam vertendos. Sic autem quibus repentinus parabatur interitus, non valebant in unum consilium concordare.

Illis ergo consulendo cunctantibus, morasque inaniter protrahentibus, ecce nuntius inopinatus ad regem cucurrit, nuntians ex certo, quod infinita iam multitudo Tartaree gentis regnum intraverat et iam prope esset. Tunc omisso consilio rex et regni principes ceperunt arma parare, ordinare duces super legionibus, maiorem pugnantium copiam convocare. Exeuntes autem a Strigonii partibus transierunt Danubium et venerunt versus Pestium, que erat maxima villa.² Igitur peractis iam fere diebus quadragesime, prope Pasca,³ universa multitudo Tartarei exercitus in Hungarie regnum irrupit. Habebant autem quadraginta milia securigeros, qui preibant exercitum silvas cedentes, vias sternentes et omnia offendicula ab ingressibus removens. Quam ob rem indagine, quos rex parari fecerat, tam facile transcenderunt, ac si non ex ingentium abietum et quercuum

¹ Suffragans of Esztergom: Eger, Győr, Pécs, Veszprém, Vác and Nyitra/Nitra; suffragans of Kalocsa: Transylvania, Csanád/Cenad, Nagyvárad/Oradea and Zággráb/Zagreb.

² Pest was founded in the twelfth century. It was at that time a non-privileged settlement, receiving its privileges from King Béla IV only in 1244, after the Mongol invasion. However, it was soon absorbed by the newly founded

along with their suffragans.¹ A great multitude of prelates and men of religion had followed them. They were all gathered at the king's encampment like lambs to the slaughter. A general council was then held, and a number of days were spent debating how best to deal with the approach of the Tatars. Different persons had different ideas, and they would not come to agreement and settle on one plan. Some were simply paralyzed by fear, and thought that they should retreat before them for the time being and not come to blows with the barbarous enemy, men without scruples who roamed the world fighting not to win a kingdom but simply from greed for plunder. Others, foolishly untroubled and heedless of the danger, declared that the enemy would turn and flee at the very first sight of our vast forces. Thus those doomed to a swift destruction were unable to agree on any course of action.

So as time passed with their discussions and long and pointless delays, lo, suddenly there came an unexpected messenger. He hastened to the king with the news that for certain a countless multitude of Tatars had entered the kingdom and was now near at hand. Thereupon the king and the leading men of the realm broke off their council and began to ready their arms, to assign leaders to the various contingents, and to call together the larger part of the fighting men. They set out from Esztergom, crossed the Danube and made for Pest, the largest settlement.² The period of Lent went by, and it was close to Easter³ when the entire host of the Tatar army burst upon the realm of Hungary. They had forty thousand men with axes who went in advance of the main host cutting down forests, laying roads, and removing all from the places of entry. They were thus able to surmount the barricades that the king had had prepared as easily as if they were made of chaff rather than of great fir trees and oaks piled

Buda. See Martyn Rady, *Medieval Buda: A Study of Municipal Government and Jurisdiction in the Kingdom of Hungary* (Boulder, CO: East European Monographs, 1985), pp. 3–7.

³ Easter was celebrated on 31 March 1241.

fuissent exstructe congerie sed ex levibus essent stipulis preparate, ita brevi spatio contrite sunt et combuste, ut nullum foret obstaculum transeundi. Venientes autem ad primos terre colonos non totam sue atrocitatis sevitiam a principio ostenderunt, sed discurrentes per villas predasque facientes non magnam stragem ex hominibus faciebant.

Erant autem duo fratres duces illius exercitus, quorum maior Bath, minor vero Caydan vocabatur.¹ Miserunt autem ante se quandam equitum manum, qui ad Hungarorum castra propinquantes et se ipsos frequentius ostentantes, eos ad prelium provocabant experiri volentes, utrum Hungari pugnandi haberent animum contra eos. At vero Hungarorum rex selectis militibus imperat in eos exire. Qui armatis cuneis et bene dispositis ceperunt egredi contra ipsos. Sed Tartarorum aties non expectans manuale certamen suo more sagittarum iacula emittentes in hostes cursu precipiti fugiebant. Tunc rex cum universo exercitu suo, quasi fugitantium insequens terga, venit usque ad flumen Tysiam, quam transvadentes, leti iam et velud hostiles turmas extra sua confinia propellentes, venerunt usque ad aliam aquam, que vocatur Solo.² Universa vero multitudo Tartarorum castra posuerat ultra aquam illam in locis abditis inter condensas silvas, unde non totaliter, sed in parte ab Hungaris conspici poterant. Videntes autem hostilia agmina ultra fluvium descendisse, castrametati sunt citra. Tunc precepit rex, ut non sparsim sed confertim tentoria figerent. Composuerunt ergo sese quasi in quodam artissimo stabulo cuncti, circumponentes currus et clipeos undique quasi pro munimento castrorum. Ita vero tentoria constipata fuerunt et eorum funiculi in tantum connexi et concatenati ad invicem stringebantur, ut via esset

¹ Batu son of Jochi and Qadan son of Ögedei were not in fact brothers, but cousins. They were both grandsons of Genghis Khan. Batu was later the first ruler of the Golden Horde; he died in 1256. Qadan later distinguished himself as a general of Kublai Khan in China.

high. It took little time to trample and burn them down, and they offered no barrier at all to their passage. When they came upon the first peasants in the country, they did not show at first their full savagery of their ruthless nature, but simply rode through the villages and seized plunder without doing great physical harm to the populace.

The host was led by two brothers, the older called Batu and the younger Qadan.¹ They sent on ahead of them a squad of cavalry. These rode up to the Hungarian camp, making repeated shows of themselves and challenging them to battle. They wanted to test whether the Hungarians had any stomach to come out and fight them. The Hungarian king chose select knights and commanded them to go out and attack them. They set out in armed units and in good order. But the Tatar battle line did not stay around to engage in hand-to-hand combat, but rode off in rapid flight, firing arrows at the enemy as they went, according to their custom. The king then set out with the whole army, thinking that he was pursuing a fleeing enemy. Reaching the River Tisza, they crossed the stream. They were in high spirits, for they imagined that the enemy forces were being driven outside the bounds of the kingdom. Then they reached another stream, called the Solo.² However, on the other side of this stream the whole multitude of the Tatars was encamped in a concealed place among thick woods. The Hungarians could glimpse some but not all of them. When they saw that the enemy brigades had encamped on the other side of the river, they set up their camp on the nearer side. The king ordered the tents to be pitched close together, not scattered all over the place. The result was that they were all crowded together as though in a pen, and in defense of the camp they placed their carriages and shields in a ring around. The tents were pitched so close together and the tent ropes were so entangled and running across each other

² Solo is a corrupted name for the River Sajó, a tributary of the Tisza. What follows is Thomas' account of the battle of Muhi (11 April 1241), the most comprehensive of contemporary narratives.

omnino perplexa nec liceret per castra discurrere, sed omnes essent veluti quodam retinaculo intercepti. Hoc reputabant Hungari munimen, sed in maximum eis cessit discrimen.

Tunc Bath, maior dux Tartarei exercitus, in quendam collem conscendens, speculatus est diligenter omnem dispositionem exercitus et reversus ad suos dixit: «Bono animo nos esse oportet, o sotii, quia licet magna sit multitudo gentis istius, tamen quia improvido reguntur consilio, non poterunt effugere manus nostras. Vidi enim eos quasi gregem sine pastore¹ in quodam artissimo stabulo interclusos.» Tunc eadem nocte universis legionibus suo more dispositis iussit aggredi pontem, qui inter utramque fluminis ripam distentus non multum ab Hungarorum castris distabat. Quidam vero transfuga ex Rutenis ad regem cucurrit et nuntiavit dicens, quod «Hac nocte ad vos transituri sunt Tartari. Estote itaque cauti, ne forte subitanei et improvisi irruant in vos!» Tunc Colomannus rex armatis suorum cuneis e castris processit, quem secutus est Hugrinus archiepiscopus cum agmine suo. Erat enim et ipse vir bellicosus et ad pugnandum satis promptus et audax. Venerunt autem medio noctis tempore ad predictum pontem. Et ecce iam pars quedam hostium ultra transierat. Quos videntes Hungari statim irruerunt in eos et satis viriliter pugnantes cum eis plurimos trucidaverunt, alios vero urgentes ad pontem in flumen submergi fecerunt. Et positis custodiis ad caput pontis, cum magna exultatione redierunt ad suos. Hungari ergo ex eventu victoriae valde letificati, quasi iam omnino victores, abiectis armis tota nocte dormierunt securi. At vero Tartari in pontis capite septem erigentes machinas custodes Hungarorum longius abegerunt, ingentes in eos lapides intorquendo et sagittarum iaculis insistendo. Fugatis ergo custodibus libere et secure alii per pontem, alii per vada alvei transierunt. Et ecce summo di-

¹ Cf. Matt. 9: 36 and Mark 6: 34.

that there was no clear pathway at all. So it was impossible to move about the camp; it was as if the whole army were caught inside a net. The Hungarians regarded this as a form of defense, when in fact it turned out to be their worst danger.

At this point Batu, the elder of the two leaders of the Tatar host, ascended a hill to spy out carefully the disposition of the whole army. He returned to his followers and told them, "We can be confident, comrades; for although there is a great host of this enemy, they have allowed themselves to take poor counsel, and will thus not be able to escape our hands. For I have seen them like sheep without a shepherd,¹ enclosed within the narrowest of folds." Then, the very same night, he had all his forces drawn up in their customary manner and ordered them to seize the bridge that spanned the two banks of the river not far up from the Hungarian camp. A Ruthenian deserter came to the king and told him "This very night the Tatars plan to cross over and attack you. So be careful that they do not suddenly catch off your guard and overwhelm you." King Coloman then ordered his battle units to arm and proceeded from the camp, followed by Archbishop Ugrinus and his company; for he too was a man of warlike spirit and ready and bold to take arms. So around midnight they came to the bridge; but already a part of the enemy host had crossed over. Seeing them, the Hungarians at once fell upon them. They fought them most bravely and killed a great number of them. Others were driven back to the bridge, forced off and drowned in the river. So they set up a guard at the head of the bridge and returned to their fellows in great exultation. The Hungarians were greatly cheered by the victorious outcome, as if they had achieved an outright victory, and throwing aside their arms slept the whole night through without a care. The Tatars, however, set up seven war engines at the bridgehead, and by hurling large stones at them and harrying them with spears and arrows drove the Hungarians some distance off. With the guards put to flight the Tatars could cross securely and freely, some over the bridge, some across fords in

luculo apparuit universa multitudo Tartarorum per campum diffusa. Custodes vero fugientes ad castra magnisque clamoribus perstreptentes vix excitare poterant securo somno sopitos. Tandem tristi nuntio expergefatti non, ut oportebat in summo discrimine, concite arma arripere, equos ascendere et in hostes exire, sed lente e stratis surgentes querebant potius suo more capita pectere, manicas suere, faciem lavare, de comittendo prelio modicum cogitabant.

Attamen Colomannus rex et Hugrinus archiepiscopus et quidam magister militie templi,¹ ut strenuos decebat viros, non ut ceteri se quieto sopori dederunt, sed totam noctem sub armis ducentes pervigilem mox ut clamorem persentiunt, statim e castris erumpunt. Tunc militaribus armis accinti et in unum cuneum conglobati, audacter in hostiles aties irruerunt et cum eis aliquandiu multa fortitudine pugnaverunt. Sed cum essent paucissimi respectu infinite multitudinis Tartarorum, qui locustarum more paulatim ebulliebant de terra,² pluribus iam de sua societate peremptis redierunt ad castra. Hugrinus ergo, ut erat vir constanti libertate intrepidus, elevata voce cepit regem de negligentia increpare et omnes barones Hungarie de ignavie torpore arguere, quod in tanto periculo constituti non sue vite consulerent nec toti regno subvenire pararent. Qui ergo parati erant, exierunt cum eis, alii vero inopinato pavore perculsi, quasi amentes, nesciebant ad quid manus tenderent et quo tutius se conferrent. Itaque tres duces predicti nullas sustinentes moras iterum exeuntes, prelium cum hostibus commiserunt. Tanta denique fortitudine inter confertissimas hostium catervas ferebatur Hugrinus, ut velud fulminis ictum magno cum clamore vitarent. Similiter et Colomannus et templarius cum suis com-

¹ James of Monte Regali, master of the Order of the Knights Templar in the province of Hungary and Slavonia (1240–1).

² Cf. Exod. 10: 12.

the river. So at the very break of day the whole multitude of the Tatars appeared, spread over the plain. The guards from the bridge fled back to the camp, but their loud and urgent shouts could scarcely rouse their soundly sleeping comrades. At last, awaking to the dire news, they did not respond by swiftly seizing arms, ascending their mounts, and going out to meet the enemy, as they should have done in an emergency of the most urgent kind. Instead they emerged slowly from their bunks, and in their wonted manner set about combing their hair, fixing their sleeves and washing their faces, in no great hurry about joining battle.

Nevertheless, King Coloman, Archbishop Ugrinus and a master of the Order of the Knights Templar¹ behaved as proper soldiers should. For rather than giving themselves over to rest and sleep they had spent the whole night awake and in arms, and as soon as they heard the shouting they at once burst out of the camp. Girding on their battle gear, they formed into a close formation and charged at the enemy lines, fighting with great courage for some time. But they were very few in comparison with the vast numbers of Tatars, who kept appearing like locusts emerging one after the other from the ground.² When a number of their company had been killed the Hungarians retreated to the camp. Ugrinus, being ever outspoken and without fear, raised his voice and began to rebuke the king for his negligence and to upbraid all the Hungarian barons for their slowness and idleness, remarking that when faced with such peril they had no concern for their own lives or any resolve to defend the country as a whole. So those who were ready went out and joined them. But the others were paralyzed with fear and the unexpected, and as if they had lost their minds had no idea what they should put their hands to or where to turn. The three aforementioned leaders, brooking no further delay, sallied forth again to engage the enemy. Ugrinus launched himself with such daring among the densest ranks of the enemy that they cried aloud and fled from him as if he were a thunderbolt. Likewise, Coloman and the

milionibus Latinis¹ magnas strages ex hostibus faciebant. Sed impetum multitudinis iam non valentes sufferre, Colomannus et archiepiscopus acriter vulnerati vix evaserunt ad suos. Magister vero templarius cum tota atie Latinorum occubuit, multi etiam Hungarorum in illo certamine perierunt. Hora autem diei quasi secunda² et ecce universus exercitus Tartaree multitudinis, veluti quadam chorea, circumdedit omnia castra Hungarorum et intentis arcubus ceperunt undique sagittare, alii vero in circuitu castrorum ignem apponere properabant.

Videntes autem Hungari ex omni parte hostilibus se cuneis circumseptos, periit mens et consilium ab eis, nil iam de explicandis suis copiis aut de ineundo universali certamine poterant cogitare, sed tanto malo attoniti ibant circumquaque, velud oves in stabulo luporum morsus evadere perquirentes. Hostes vero undique circumfusi non cessabant iaculis et sagittis instare. At vero miseranda Hungarie multitudo omni salutis consilio destituta, quid faceret non videbat neque enim alteri cum altero colloquium habere licebat, unusquisque sibi sollicitus de communi salute nullus providere valebat. Sagittarum et iaculorum imbrem non armis oppositis excipiebant, sed dorsa vertentes ad ictus cadebant passim tam crebri, ut de concussa ylice diffluere glandes solent. Et cum omnis spes vite foret adempta, mors vero in omnium oculis yando per castra videretur discurrere, rex et principes relictis signis ad fuge presidium se convertunt. Tum reliqua multitudo hinc crebris mortibus territa, hinc flamme devorantis in giro metu attonita, nil nisi ad fugam totis precordiis estuabat. Verum cum tantis se posse malis eripere fugiendo intendunt, ecce aliud malum domesticum et familiare incurrunt. Etenim cum viarum aditus funiculorum conexione et tentoriorum densitate forent periculosissime prepediti, dum

¹ The Templars in Hungary were mostly Frenchmen, with only a few native knights.

² Between 5 and 6 a.m.

master of the Templars with his fellow Latin knights¹ wrought great slaughter among the enemy. All the same, they were unable to sustain the overwhelming numbers, and Coloman and the archbishop, both now seriously wounded, made it back to their fellows with difficulty. The master of the Templars and all his company of Latins were slain, and many Hungarians too perished in that fray. It was now around the second hour of the day,² and now the entire host of the Tatar army completely surrounded the Hungarian camp, as if in a ring-dance. They drew their bows and set about firing arrows everywhere, while others circled the camp and sought to set it on fire.

The Hungarians, seeing that they were surrounded on every side by bands of the enemy, lost all sense and reason. They were unable to set their minds to drawing up their forces or to joining a full-scale pitched battle. Dazed at the enormity of their situation, they wandered to and fro like sheep in a sheepfold trying to evade the jaws of the wolf. But the enemy surrounding them on all sides pressed them relentlessly with spears and arrows. The wretched Hungarian multitude, lacking any plan of deliverance, had no inkling what to do. None would take counsel with his fellow, each one was concerned only for himself, and none could take thought for general salvation. They did not hold their shields against the storm of arrows and spears, but instead turning their backs they fell, so many everywhere, like acorns scattered when an oak tree is shaken. And when all hope of saving their lives was spent, and death, as it were, passed through the camp gazing in their faces, the king and the leading men, abandoning their standards, turned to seek refuge in flight. Then the rest of the army, terrified at the swift toll of deaths and stunned with fear of the devouring flames all around them, set their hearts on nothing else but flight. But when they sought to snatch themselves from all these dangers by fleeing, they encountered another problem close at hand and on their own side. For the way along the paths had been hazardously impeded by the maze of ropes and the closely pitched tents,

cursum exire festinant, alter ruebat in alterum nec minor videbatur ruina, quam ex sui pressura exercitus faciebat, quam ea, quam hostes sagittarum ictibus inferebant.

Videntes autem Tartari, quod in fugam versus esset exercitus Hungarorum, quasi hostium quoddam aperuerunt eis et permittentes eos abire, non impetuose, sed pedetentim insequerantur eos ex utraque parte non sinentes eos huc aut illuc divertere. Iacebant autem per vias infelicitum opes, vasa aurea et argentea, purpurea indumenta et arma copiosa. Sed Tartarorum inaudita crudelitas nil curans de spoliis omnem pretiosarum rerum parvi pendens predam in sola hominum cede crassatur. Cum enim viderent iam itineris labore defessos nec posse ad arma manus extendere nec pedes ulterius ad fugam laxare, tunc ceperunt hinc et inde iaculis infigere, gladiis obtruncare, nulli parcere, sed omnes feraliter trucidare. Cadebant a dextris et a sinistris ybernalium foliorum instar, iacebant per totam viam miserorum prostrata cadavera, fluebat sanguis more torrentis fluvii. Infelix patria filiorum infecta cruore longe lateque rubebat. Tunc miserabilis multitudo, quam nondum devoraverat gladius Tartarorum, ad quandam paludem venire compulsa, non est permissa diversam ingredi viam, sed urgentibus Tartaris in eam ingressa est. Pars maxima Hungarorum ibique ab aqua et luto pene omnes absorti sunt et extincti. Ibi ille famosissimus vir Ugrinus periit, ibi Mathias Strigonensis, ibi Gregorius Ioriensis episcopus,¹ ibi multa prelatorum et clericorum turba occubuit.

Heu, heu, domine Deus, cur ecclesiastica dignitate preditos tuoque ministerio deputatos, tam acerbo fine concluderis, tam vili sepulchro dampnaveris? Vere *iudicia tua abyssus multa*.² Infelices et miseri, qui multo melius se suumque populum piis

¹ Gregory was bishop of Győr from 1223 to 1241. His parentage is unknown.

² Ps. 35: 7 (36: 6).

and in their haste to run out of the camp, one man trampled upon another, and the numbers brought down by their own fellows falling on them seemed hardly less than those struck down by the enemy arrows.

But when the Tatars perceived that the Hungarian army had turned to flight, they left a door open for them, so to speak, and allowed them to depart. They did not pursue them with all their force, but followed them cautiously, on two sides, not allowing them to turn aside. All over the paths lay the wretched Hungarians' valuables, their gold and silver tableware, their crimson garments, their wealth of arms. But the Tatars, with their unparalleled savagery, paid little heed to all the rich plunder, intent only on human carnage. When they saw that their enemies were exhausted from running and unable to stretch out their arms to fight or their legs in flight, they began to rain spears upon them on all sides and to cut them down with swords, sparing no one, and butchering them like animals. Left and right they fell like leaves in winter; the whole way was covered with their wretched bodies; blood flowed like the stream of a river. The hapless country far and wide was red, stained with the blood of her sons. Then the pitiful multitude, those whom the Tatar sword had not yet devoured, by necessity came to a certain marsh. They were not given the chance to take a different way; pressed on by the Tatars, almost the whole of the Hungarians entered the swamp and were there dragged down into the water and the mud and drowned almost to a man. There perished the most illustrious Ugrinus; there perished Matthias of Esztergom and Bishop Gregory of Győr;¹ there many a prelate and crowd of clerics met their fate.

Alas, Lord God, why, alas, did you bring to such a bitter end men bearing offices of the church and appointed to Your ministry? Why condemn them to such an ignoble burial? Truly, *thy judgements are a great deep*.² Poor wretches, much better could they have helped themselves and their people with de-

votis intentisque precibus iuvare poterant, in sacris edibus supplicando, quam materialibus armis accinti in castris laycalibus pernoctando.

Factus est ergo sicut populus sic sacerdos, et quos unum agmen commisit ad pugnam, unus interitus involvit ad penam. Igitur si qui ex illa voragine evadere potuerunt, nullam spem habebant diffugii a facie gladii imminentis, cum tota terra quasi locustis esset repleta hostilibus turmis, quibus nulla erat pietas parcere prostratis, misereri captivis, preterire lassos, sed velud agrestes belue nil nisi humanum sanguinem sitiebant. Tunc videres omnes vias, cuncta diverticula densis cadaveribus repleta.

Transierat iam prima communis exitii dies, quam alie nichilominus acerbiori sunt auspicio secuturæ. Etenim facto vespere defessis iam et cessantibus Tartaris non patebat liber transitus volentibus fugere quocumque mediis tenebris divertebant, impingebant in corpora miserorum spirantium adhuc aut sub vulnere gementium. Iacebant ex maiori parte letali sompno immobiles, velud utres flatibus tumefacti. Horror ingens erat prima nocte cernere tam multa cadavera hominum, velud ligna et lapides ubique iacentium. Sed diebus sequentibus assuetudo mali horrorem in tutelam mutavit. Nonnulli etenim, tota die diffugere non audentes, semetipsos interfectorum sanguine involvebant et inter cadavera latitabant et sic vivi a mortuis tutele refugium optinebant. Quid vero commemorem de immani sevitia, quam in civitatibus et villis diebus singulis exercebant? Cum imbellem turbam mulierum, senum et infantium conglariantes faciebant uno ordine consedere et, ne vestes macularentur sanguine, neve carnifices lassarentur, indumenta prius omnibus detrahebant et tunc missi carnifices singulorum brachia elevantes figebant leniter telum in corde et extinguebant

voted supplication and prayer, beseeching Your fearful majesty in their holy dwellings, than by passing the night in the camp of laymen girded with material arms.

So the fate of priest and people was the same. For as they went to battle in one troop they were smitten with one penalty. If any were able to escape from that whirlpool, they had no hope of escape from the sword that stood before them. For the whole earth swarmed with the hordes of the enemy, like locusts, who had no mercy to spare those struck down, to pity those taken prisoner, to pass by those exhausted. Rather, like wild animals they thirsted for nothing but human blood. Every path that you could see, every byway, was choked with corpses.

The first day of general calamity had passed, but others of no less bitter auspice were still to follow. Evening had come, and the Tatars, wearied, were starting to fall back. Yet no unimpeded way offered itself to those desiring to flee. Wherever they turned in the midst of the darkness they stumbled over the bodies of wretched victims still breathing and groaning from their wounds. But the greater part lay unmoving in death, swollen like inflated wineskins. The horror on that first night of seeing such numbers of human corpses, lying around like stones or tree-trunks, was enormous. But in the days that followed, familiarity with the dreadful situation transformed horror into self-preservation. Thus some, not daring to try to escape during the day, smeared themselves with the blood of the dead and lay in concealment among the bodies; in this way the living found refuge and safeguard with the dead. But how can I describe the boundless savagery that the Tatars visited upon cities and villages each single day? They would round up the non-combatants, women, old men and little children, and make them sit in one line, and in order that their clothing would not be stained by blood nor the butchers be wearied, they first made them remove the clothing; then the executioners were set upon them: they would raise each person's arms the more easily to

omnes. Preterea mulieres Tartarorum virili more armis accinte in pugnam audacter ferebantur, ut viri, he in mulieres captivas atrotius seviebant. Si quas enim venustiores vultu cernebant, ex quibus zelotypie motum possent aliquatenus formidare, statim extracto gladio perimebant vel si quas videbant ad serviendum habiles, preciso totaliter naso, deturpata facie servili ministerio deputabant. Pueros quoque captivos ad se venire iubentes, tale de ipsis ludibrium faciebant: primo seriatim eos consedere iuebant, deinde vocatis parvulis suis, dabant eis viridium lignorum vectes singulas et tunc precipiebant, ut in capita percuterent miserabilium parvulorum, ipsi vero sedentes et crudelibus oculis intuentes, corridebant ad invicem collaudantes eum, qui melius ictum vibrasset et qui unica percussione cerebrum collidere poterat et corpus extinguere puerile. Quid pluribus opus est? Nulla erat reverentia feminei sexus, nulla pietas puerilis etatis, nulla miseratio senectutis, uno cunctos impietatis genere trucidantes, non homines, sed demones videbantur. Ad religionum habitacula cum venirent, procedebat eis clericalis cetus, sacris stolis induti concinentes ymnos et cantica, quasi debitam honorificentiam victoribus exhibentes et parantes munera et exenia, ut eorum circa se misericordiam provocarent. Sed ipsi totius pietatis et humanitatis ignari religionis obsequia contempnentes et piam eorum simplicitatem deridentes, extractis gladiis absque ulla miseratione ipsorum capita detruncabant. Tunc irruentes in claustra diripiebant omnia domos succedentes, ecclesias prophanantes, dirruebant altaria, spargebant reliquias, ex sacratis vestibis concubinis et uxoribus redimicula preparabant.

At vero Bela rex auxilio protectus divino, tantum evadens excidium cum paucis secessit in Austriam.¹ Rex vero Colomanus, frater eius, devenit ad magnam villam, que sita est super ulteriorem ripa Danubii, nomine Pestium. Ad quem locum

¹ Thomas is curiously silent here about Béla's unfortunate sojourn in Austria and the extortionate demands of Duke Frederick the Quarrelsome (1230–46), for which see Rogerius, *Carmen miserabile*, cap. 32–3 (SRA 2: 574–6).

drive the spear into their hearts, and killed them all. Moreover, the Tatar women girded themselves with arms like the men and threw themselves fiercely into battle like them. They were particularly cruel to the women captives. Any whom they saw who were more attractive, who might cause them to feel jealous or threatened in any way, they immediately drew their swords and killed. Or if they judged any suitable to work as servants, they forthwith sliced off their noses and with the mutilated faces assigned them to work as slaves. They called the boy captives to them and played a game with them. They first told them to sit down in rows; then they called over their own children and giving them each a stave of green wood they ordered them to beat in the heads of the poor captives. They themselves sat and looked on with cruel eyes, laughing to each other and praising those who struck the surest blow or who could crush the brain with a single stroke and leave the body lifeless. What need I say more? No respect was paid to the female sex, no pity to those of childish years, no mercy for old age. All were butchered in the same pitiless way. They seemed devils rather than human beings. When they came to the dwellings of men of religion, the company of clerics would come out to them, dressed in their sacred garments, singing hymns and chants, as if showing due honor to the victors, presenting gifts and offerings to incite mercy towards them. But they, devoid of all pity and human feeling, and despising the practices of religion and mocking their pious simplicity, would draw their swords and cut off their heads without the least pity. Then, pouring into the cloisters, they would plunder everything, setting alight the houses and profaning the churches. They pulled down the altars and scattered the relics, and from the sacred vestments they fashioned ribbons for their wives and concubines.

But King Béla, protected by divine aid, escaped from this terrible destruction and with a few companions made his way to Austria.¹ His brother King Coloman reached the large settlement of Pest situated on the further bank of the Danube; to this

maxima multitudo Hungarorum et aliarum nationum, que ultra citraque Danubium habitabant, audito infausto belli eventu et cognoscentes interitum totius exercitus confugerunt. Habebant enim fiduciam in numerosa plebis multitudine, que ex advenis et incolis ibidem fuerat congregata. Sed dissuadebat eis Colomannus rex temeraria ausa molientibus et celesti gladio se posse resistere arbitrantibus. Consulebat autem eis, ut potius ad alia loca divertentes salutis sue quererent munimentum. Sed cum non acquiescerent salubri consilio, discessit ab eis Colomannus et venit trans Dravum fluvium, ubi habitationis sue habebatur locus.

Predicta vero popularium turba, ut talium se habet presumptio, ceperunt locum munire, vallum effodere, componere aggerem, vimineas crates circumplectere et inaniter omnia preparare. Sed antequam ad medium operis processisset principium, ecce repentini adsunt Tartari, timor et ebitudo mentis pervadit multitudinem Hungarorum. Tunc truculenti duces, veluti rapaces lupi, quos rapide famis exagitat ingluvies, caulas solet ovium ad predam inyando lustrare, ita isti beluino more furentes totam villam trucibus oculis circumspiciunt, feroci animo pertractantes, qualiter Hungaros vel ad exteriora traherent vel ad eos ingredi per atiem gladii prevalerent. Igitur Tartarorum acies suis castris circa totam villam defixis, ceperunt eam undique impugnare sagittantes acriter et telorum ymbrem interius iacientes. E contrario vero Hungarorum infausta rebellio totis se viribus defendere conabatur intendentes balistas et arcus plurima in hostiles cuneos iacula mittebant multos e machinis lapides intorquendo. Sed letifere Tartarorum sagitte infalibiliter penetrantes certiore inferebant mortem. Non enim erat torax, clipeus, vel lorica quam non transfoderet ictus Tartarea manu vibratus. Cum ergo altrinsecus duobus aut tribus diebus pugnatum fuisset et plurima iam strages ex miseranda plebe foret peracta, ne quicquam infelices dextris languentibus resistebant. Et quia locus non satis erat munitus, die quadam

place a large multitude of Hungarians and other nations who were living on both this side and the other side of the Danube had fled for refuge when they heard of the ill-fated outcome of the war and learned of the destruction of the entire army. For they had trust in the large population of common people, foreign and native, who had gathered there. But Coloman dissuaded those who planned rash actions and believed that they could resist the divine sword. He advised them rather to make for other places in search of safety. But when they would not take this sound advice, Coloman left them and crossed the River Drava, where he had his residence.

The aforesaid populace of common people, overconfident as such persons commonly are, began to fortify the position, dig a ditch, throw up a rampart, weave wicker barricades and make all sorts of useless preparations. But before they were half way through their work, suddenly the Tatars were upon them. Fear and numbness of mind seized the multitude of Hungarians. Then the bloodthirsty leaders, like ravening wolves driven by mad and voracious hunger who circle a sheepfold open-mouthed before their prey, with feral rage, cruelly eyed the whole town, contemplating with their savage hearts how they might draw the Hungarians out or else force their way in to them at the point of the sword. So the Tatar army, encamping around the whole circuit of the town, began to attack it from all sides, firing arrows fiercely and launching a hail of missiles within. For their part, the Hungarians in their ill-starred resistance put up all their strength to defend themselves, shooting arrows and firing crossbows and sending a hail of missiles against the enemy formations and sending volleys of stones from the siege-engines. But the deadly arrows of the Tatars penetrated to their mark every time and brought death even more surely. For no breastplate, shield or armor was proof against the shots leveled by the Tatars' hands. So for two or three days the battle raged on both sides, and the wretched people suffered enormous casualties. As their right arms grew weary, their resistance grew

uno impetu Tartari irruerunt, nec fuit ultra congressio, nec resistentia ulla.¹

Tum furor et impietas, ultra quam dici potest, in miseros desevire cepit. Revera in Pestio tota se pestis immersit.² Ibi divine ultionis gladius in Christianorum cruore quam maxime debachatus est. Introgressis itaque Tartaris, quid misere plebi restabat consilii, nisi complicare brachia, ponere genua, flectere sub mucrone cervices? At vero cruenta barbaries non satiabatur inundatione sanguinis copiosa, non deficiebat cedis instantia indefessa. Tantus audiebatur fragor cedentium, ac si ingentium silvarum robora securium multitudine detruncarentur ad terram. Tollebatur ad celum rugitus et ululatus plangentium mulierum, vociferantium puerorum, qui tam acerbe mortis furiam coram oculis discurrere sine cassatione cernebant. Non vacabat tunc funereas agere pompas, non flere super caris extinctis, non sepulchrales exequias celebrare. Generalis interitus omnibus imminens non de aliena sed de sua morte quemlibet plangere compellebat. Mares enim et feminas, senes et parvulos letalis gladius devorabat. Quis infelicissimam illius diei effari valeat lucem? Quis stragem tam numerosi populi recensere queat, cum plusquam centum milia hominum seva mors unius diei spatio et brevi loci termino deglutiret? Heu, quam effera corda pagane gentis, que sine ullo pietatis affectu totas Danubii aquas humano sanguine rubere cernebat!

Postquam patrata cedis atrocitas sufficere visa est, exeuntes de villa ignem undique posuerunt, quam totaliter in conspectu hostium absque ulla mora vorax flama consumpsit. Ad locum predicatorum³ pars quedam miserande plebis cum uxoribus et

¹ The fall of Pest occurred towards the end of April 1241.

² Thomas here, and in this chapter as a whole, equates Mongol domination with the plague. He uses this opportunity for a Latin pun: "*Revera in Pestio tota se pestis immersit.*"

³ The Dominican convent of St. Anthony (founded ca. 1230) in Pest was the recipient of a substantial endowment through royal grants and those of landed magnates; see N. Pfeiffer, *Die Ungarische Dominikanerordensprovinz*

useless. For their position was not securely fortified, and one day the Tatars burst through, without any battle or resistance being offered.¹

Then the poor people were treated with a fury and mercilessness that beggars description. Truly Pest was subject to a total pestilence.² There the sword of divine retribution raged without limit in Christian blood. Once the Tatars had gained entry, what course remained for the wretched people other than to fold their arms, set themselves on their knees, and bow their necks to the sword? But the cruelty of the barbarians was not satisfied with whatever quantity of blood was shed. Their lust for slaughter was inexhaustible. The sound of those being cut down was as if whole forests of oaks were being felled to earth under a multitude of axes. The yelling and shrieking of women and wailing children carried to heaven, seeing no let in the fury of cruel death passing before their eyes. There was no time for funeral rites, no time to weep for their loved ones, no time to bury them. In the general destruction facing them all, each person was driven to bewail his own death, not that of others. The sword of death consumed men and women, old and young. Who is capable of speaking of the most unfortunate spectacle of that day? Who could count the slaughter of such a numerous populace? When within the space of one day and in that little place more than one hundred thousand persons were devoured by cruel death. Alas, how savage are the hearts of pagans, who without the least feelings of pity could view the waters of the whole Danube red with human blood!

When they seemed satisfied with the brutality of slaughter inflicted, they quit the city and set fire to it everywhere, and in no time the devouring flame completely consumed it before the gaze of the enemy. A remnant of the wretched common people reached the Dominicans,³ bringing their wives and children,

von ihrer Gründung 1221 bis zur Tatarenverwüstung 1241–1242 (Zurich, 1913), pp. 29–31.

filiis confugerant putantes se murorum ambitu interclusos summum frustrari discrimen. Sed nil profuit loci munitio, quibus non aderat divina protectio. Nam venientibus Tartaris et locum fortiter impugnantibus communi exitio traditi sunt appositoque igni ad decem milia ferme hominum cum loco et rebus miserabiliter conflagrarunt. Huius tam grandis et horribilis cedis testis est multitudo inhumatorum ossium, que in magnos coadunata tumultos, magnum spectaculum cernentibus prestant.

Interea Tartarorum exercitus depopulata omni regione Transilvana, cesis ac fugatis Hungaris ex Transdanubialibus horis, composuerunt se in locis illis totam ibi estatem et yemem peracturi.¹ Et ut metum incuterent his, qui erant ex altera parte Danubii, collectam multitudinem occisorum in acervos plurimos super ripam fluminis locaverunt. Alii vero puerulos lanceis affigentes, quasi pisces in veru, per horas alvei baiulabant. Iam vero captarum predarum non erat numerus vel mensura. Quis extimaret innumerabilium equorum et ceterorum animalium multitudinem? Quis divitias et thesauros? Quis spoliolum copias infinitas, quibus hostes locupletati gaudebant? Quanta erat hominum captivitas, virorum et mulierum, puerorum et puellarum, quos diversis servitiis subigentes sub arta custodia detinebant!

Cum quidam relligiosus vir nimio afficeretur dolore super tanto casu populi christiani admirans et ardenti desiderio causam scire cupiens, cur omnipotens Deus permiserit terram Hungaricam devastari gladio paganorum, cum fides catholica ibi vigeret et ecclesiarum honor optimo statu polleret, audivit nocte per visum: «Noli admirari, frater, nec divina iudicia tibi videantur iniusta, quia licet multa facinora huius populi summa Dei clementia supportasset, scelus tamen nefande libidinis trium epis-

¹ Eastern Hungary was wholly under Mongol control from April 1241 to March or April 1242. See Rogerius, *Carmen miserabile*, cap. 34 (SRA 2: 576–80).

thinking that they could cheat their ultimate fate if they were enclosed within the bounds of walls. But the fortified site availed them not when divine protection was lacking. For the Tatars arrived and attacked the place with all their might, and they were all given over to a common fate. Some ten thousand poor wretches perished when fire was set and they were consumed along with the buildings and the possessions. Witness to this great and terrible slaughter is the great number of unburied bones, which lie in huge heaps, and remain there to be seen by those who look upon them.

Meanwhile, having ravaged the whole of Transylvania, and having killed or driven away the Hungarians from the Transdanubian region, the Tatar host settled in those parts, intending to spend the whole summer and winter there.¹ And to instill fear into those who were on the other side of the Danube, they collected the great number of dead and heaped them up in countless piles along the bank of the river. Others impaled little children on lances, like fish on a spit, and walked up and down the river with them. By now the plunder that they had seized was without number or measure. Who could reckon the countless number of horses and other animals? Who could count the riches and treasures, the infinite quantities of spoil, in which the enemy rejoiced to be enriched with? How great the number of prisoners, men and women, boys and girls, condemned to harsh servitude and placed under guard!

A certain religious man, deeply moved by this terrible fate of the Christian people, and marveling and ardently desiring and seeking to know the reason why Almighty God had permitted the land of Hungary to be devastated by the pagans' sword when the Christian faith flourished there and the church was held in great honor, heard a reply at night in a vision: "Marvel not, O my brother, nor let God's judgements seem unjust to you; for although God's supreme mercy could tolerate many acts of this people, He was unable to suffer the unspeakable

coporum nequaquam potuit tollerare.» De quibus tamen hoc dictum sit, mihi non est compertum.

Tunc Bela rex de Austria reversus venit cum omni familia sua et demoratus est in partibus Zagrabie.¹ Congregati vero sunt circa eum omnes, qui effugere poterant gladium Tartarorum et erant ibi per estatem rei exitum prestolantes.

XXXVII. DE NATURA TATARORUM

Nunc vero de natura et habitu gentis illius, prout ab his audire potui, qui rem curiosius indagarunt, pauca narrabo. Est enim regio illorum in ea parte orbis sita, ubi oriens coniungitur aquiloni, gentesque ille secundum proprietatem lingue sue Mangoli appellantur.² Ferunt tamen, quod terra illorum confinis sit ulterioris Indie³ nomenque regis eorum Cecarcanus vocatur.⁴ Hic ergo cum habuisset bellum cum quodam rege sibi contermino, qui quandam ipsius sororem stupratam occiderat, devicit eum et extinxit. Filium autem eius ad regem alium fugientem insecutus est et facto conflictu contrivit eum et ipsum, qui ei tutelam auxilii preparaverat in regno suo. Ad tertium quoque regnum cum armatus accederet, comisit prelia multa cum eo et victor existens ad propria repedavit. Et videns, quod tam prospera sibi in omnibus bellis fata successerant, cepit cor eius vehementer intumescere et ad superbiam elevari. Ratus autem, quod non esset in toto orbe gens aut regnum, quod eius potentie resistere posset, proposuit ex cunctis nationibus tropheum glorie reportare. Voluit ergo potentatus sui magnitudinem toto stentare mundo demonum fretus auspiciis, quibus vacare sole-

¹ Béla IV was in Zagreb on 18 May 1241, and from there sent a letter to the pope asking for help (CD 4: 128).

² Although Thomas recognizes the difference between “Mongols” and “Tatars,” the latter term is used consistently in his narrative.

³ The region from the Altai Mountains to the River Indus.

⁴ *Cecarcanus*, apparently a synecdoche similar to the biblical “pharaoh.” Thomas, although recognizing that Batu and Qadan were subordinates of the

desire and wickedness of three bishops.” But of whom this was told I have been unable to ascertain.

Then King Béla left Austria, and came with all his household and settled around Zagreb.¹ All those gathered around him who had succeeded in escaping the sword of the Tatars. And there they passed the whole summer, awaiting the course of events.

37 THE NATURE OF THE TATARS

Now I shall recount something of the nature and appearance of this race, as much as I have been able to hear from those who have investigated the matter more diligently. Their country lies in that part of the earth where east meets north, and in their own language these people are called Mongols.² However, they say that their land borders on Further India,³ and the name of their king is Cецarcanus.⁴ He was once at war with a neighboring king who had violated and killed the Tatar’s sister, and he conquered and killed him. Moreover, he pursued this king’s son, who had fled to another king, and joining battle with him killed him, as well as the king who had offered the son aid and refuge in his kingdom. Then he carried his arms to a third kingdom as well, and fought many battles; emerging victorious, he returned to his own lands. And when he saw that fortune favored him in all his wars, his heart began to swell and grow exceedingly proud. Thinking that there was no people or country on earth that could resist his might, he determined to win the glory of triumph over every single nation. Therefore, trusting in the auspices of devils, on which he was accustomed to rely, he wanted to manifest to the world the full magnitude of his

Great Khan, nowhere mentions Ögedei by name. This brief narrative of the Great Khan’s military successes and of the defiling of his sister is probably a compressed account loosely based on the life of Genghis Khan (1206–27); the “sister” mentioned here may be identical with Börte Fujin, the first wife of Genghis Khan, who was abducted by the Merkits.

bat. Itaque vocatis duobus filiis suis Batho et Caydano¹ tradidit eis robur exercitus sui precipiens eis, ut ad debellandas totius mundi provincias exire deberent. Exierunt ergo et triginta fere annis perambulaverunt omnia regna orientalium et aquilonarium regionum, do-nec venirent ad terram Rutenorum et demum ad Hungariam descenderunt.

Hoc autem nomen Tartari² non nomen est gentis proprium, sed a quadam aqua, que illorum preterfluit regionem, sic appellati sunt vel secundum quosdam tatar idem sonat quod multitudo. Licet autem maxima esset multitudo eorum, maior tamen in illo certamine fuisse dicitur copia Hungarorum, sed non est gens in mundo, que tantam habeat bellandi peritiam, que ita sciat, maxime in campestri conflictu, hostes evincere sive virtute, sive sagacitate pugnando. Preterea nec christiana, nec ebrea, nec saracenica se lege constringunt et ideo nulla veritas reperitur in ipsis, nullius iuramenti fidem observant. Et contra morem omnium gentium nec de bello nec de pace legationem recipiunt aut mittunt. Terrificum valde exhibent faciei aspectum, breves habent tibias, sed vasta pectora, lata est facies et cutis alba, imberbis gena et naris adunca, breves oculi spatio longiori disiuncti. Arma eorum sunt quedam tegmina ex taurinis coriis laminarum more compacta, impenetrabilia tamen et valde secura.³ Cassides gerunt ferreas et ex coriis factas, falcatos enses, faretras et arcus militariter cingunt. Sagitte eorum nostris sunt quattuor digitis longiores, ferrea, ossea et cornea cuspidate. Teni⁴ vero sagittarum ita stricti sunt, ut cordas nostrorum arcuum minime

¹ See above, n. 1, p. 260.

² Medieval authors frequently conflated the name of the Mongols (the Tatars) with Tartarus (Hell) in order to stress their “diabolical” character. However, Thomas is not as eschatologically minded as most other writers. For more, see Peter Jackson and David Morgan (eds.), *The Mission of Friar William of Rubruck. His Journey to the Court of the Great Khan Möngke 1253–1255* (London: The Hakluyt Society, 1990), pp. 16–7, esp. n. 4.

³ A more detailed description of Mongol arms and armor, including their method of making leather armor (for horses), is given in John of Plano Carpini,

power. So he summoned his two sons Batu and Qadan,¹ and entrusted to them the flower of his army, commanding them to go out and conquer all the provinces of the earth. So they went out and for some thirty years wandered over all the lands of the eastern and northern regions, until they came to the land of the Ruthenians, and finally came down to Hungary.

However, the name 'Tatar' or 'Tartar'² is not the people's own name for themselves; rather, they are so called from a body of water that flows through their region; or, according to some, the word 'Tatar' means 'multitude.' Yet although there was an enormous number of them, they say that in that battle the forces of the Hungarians were actually greater. But there is no race in the world that has such experience in warfare or that knows so well, especially on open ground, how to get the better of their enemy, whether by courage or skilful tactics. Moreover, they do not adhere to the Christian, Saracen or Hebrew religion, and so no integrity is found in them, and they observe no faith of oaths. Against the custom of all peoples they neither receive nor send embassies either about war or about peace. Their countenances have a truly dreadful aspect: their thighs are short but their chests are huge; their faces are broad and their skin white, their cheeks beardless, their noses hooked, their eyes narrow and set rather far apart. As armor they use coverings made out of bull hide and fitted together like plates, which are nevertheless impenetrable and quite secure.³ They wear helmets of iron or leather, their swords are curved, and they wear at the waist quivers and bows in military style. Their arrows are four digits longer than ours, and pointed with a tip of iron, bone or horn. The slit tips⁴ of the arrows are so narrow

History of the Mongols, in Christopher Dawson, *The Mongol Mission* (London: Sheed and Ward, 1955), ch. 6, pp. 33–5.

⁴ *Tenus* is a very rare word, so there is doubt about what exactly it refers to. Servius (*Serv. Verg. Aen.* 6.62) thought that *tenus est proprie extrema pars arcus*, but that does not fit here.

capiant. Vexilla brevia, nigro alboque colore distincta, quendam lane globum in summitate habentia.¹ Equos breves sed fortes, patientes inedia ac laboris more equitant rusticano, per rupes vero et lapides absque ferramentis ita discurrunt, ac si capre forent silvestres, tribus enim continuis diebus labore quassati parvo stipularum pabulo sunt contenti.² Homines simili modo, nil pene de alimentorum perceptione curantes sola crudelitate pascuntur. Usus panis aborreat, mundorum et imundorum carnibus indifferenter utuntur. Et lac concretum cum sanguine potant equino.³ Habent autem ex diversis nationibus, quas bellis edomuerunt, multitudinem maximam pugnatorum et precipue Cumanorum,⁴ quos ad pugnandum subigunt violenter. Si quem vero ex his paululum trepidare conspiciunt nec in mortem sese tota mentis insania precipitare absque ulla cunctatione eius amputant caput. Ipsi Tartari non se libenter morti exponunt, sed si quem eorum in bello mori contingat, statim rapiunt et efferentes in occultissimo loco terre infodiunt complanantes tumulum et locum equorum pedibus conculcantes, ne quod sepulture appareat signum. Nulla pene rapidorum fluminum eis aqua obsistit, quominus equis transeant insidendo. Si qua vero immeabilis unda occurrit, continuo in modum lemborum ex viminibus cistas intexunt superducentes crudas animalium cutes, quibus sarcinas inferentes intrant et transeunt absque metu. Tentoriis utuntur filtrinis et ex coriis factis. Equos ita bene habent edomitos, ut quotcumque unus habeat homo, omnes ipsum tamquam canes secuntur. Cum autem tanta sit hominum multitudo, quasi muti nullam fere vocem emittunt, sed taciti ambulant et taciti pugnant.

¹ The *tuq* (*tuk*), decorated with yak tails.

² John of Plano Carpini also commented on the endurance of the Mongols' horses and their ability to survive on very little food: *History of the Mongols*, ch. 9, p. 52.

³ This is an allusion to the favorite drink of the Mongols, fermented mare's milk or kumiss (*qumys*); a more elaborate treatment of the subject is given by William of Rubruk, *Journey*, in Dawson, *The Mongol Mission*, ch. 4, pp. 98–9.

that our bowstrings do not fit them. Their banners are short, colored black and white, and have a sort of woolen ball on the top.¹ Their horses are short but sturdy, able to tolerate hunger and toil, and they ride upon them in the manner in which country people do. They race over rocks and stones like mountain goats, without the use of metal shoes. Even after being ridden for three days on end they are satisfied with a small meal of chaff.² In like manner the men care very little about taking food, cruelty being their sole nourishment. They will not touch bread, and eat clean and unclean meat indifferently. Their drink is milk thickened with blood.³ From the various nations that they have subdued in war they have a vast number of fighting men, especially Cumans,⁴ whom they drive by violence into battle. And if they perceive any one of these showing the least signs of wavering, and not throwing himself at death with complete obsession of mind, they cut off his head without the least hesitation. The Tatars themselves do not lightly expose themselves to death. But if one of their number happens to fall in battle, they immediately snatch him up, and carrying him off to a completely concealed place bury him in the earth. They then flatten the earth over him and trample it all around with horses' hooves, so that no sign of the burial is apparent. The waters of rapid rivers are almost never an obstacle to them, and they cross them riding on the backs of their horses. If they do encounter a stream that they cannot cross, they at once weave together wicker crates to act like little boats, cover the frame with raw hides, and then putting their belongings on board they climb in and cross without trepidation. Their tents are made of felt or leather, and their horses are so well trained that however many a man has they all follow him like dogs; yet amidst that great multitude of persons they are as quiet as if they were mute, and almost never let out a cry, but walk in silence and fight without uttering a sound.

⁴ See above, n. 1, p. 254.

His ergo breviter prelibatis, nunc ad materiam redeamus. Patrata denique ex Hungarica gente victoria, cum fama mali tanti celeri ubique percurrisset volatu, totus pene mundus intremuit tantusque metus in omnes provincias incubuit, ut nulli videretur eorum se posse impias effugere manus. Ipse etiam Fredericus Romanorum imperator¹ non de resistentia sed de latibulo dicitur cogitasse. Tunc plerique litterati viri veteres scrutantes scripturas, coniciebant maxime ex dictis Methodii martiris, has fore illas gentes, que precedere debent Antichristi adventum.² Ceperunt autem munire civitates et castra suspicantes quod ad urbem Romam vellent omnia vastando transire.

Porro Bela rex veritus, ne Tartari transvadato Danubio reliquam regni partem contererent, misit ad civitatem Albensem et suscepto corpore beati Stephani regis, susceptis etiam multarum ecclesiarum thesauris, misit omnia cum domina Maria uxore sua et cum parvo filio Stephano,³ adhuc bimulo,⁴ ad maritimas regiones, rogans et mandans Spalatensibus, ut hec servanda susciperent reginamque cum filio in sue fidei tutela tenerent. Sed domina regina veniens a quibusdam Spalatensium emulis persuasa noluit intrare Spaletum, sed composuit se cum omnibus regalibus gazis et consedit in castro Clisse. Venerunt autem et multe nobiles mulieres cum ea, que suis erant viris per Tataros viduate. Garganus vero potestas et nobiles Spalatenses

¹ Thomas may have been distantly (but confusedly) aware of Emperor Frederick's letter of 20 June 1241 to the senate of Rome, announcing the devastation of Hungary and imperial intentions to resist further Mongol advance; see Klaus Joachim Heinisch, *Kaiser Friedrich II. in Briefen und Berichten seiner Zeit* (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1968), pp. 506–9. Thomas is less likely to have had knowledge of the emperor's letter to all the princes of Europe, issued at Faenza on 3 July 1241, calling for a common defense under imperial leadership; see Matthew Paris, *Chronica majora*, IV, 112–9.

² Whether Thomas personally had direct knowledge of the sibylline prophecies of Pseudo-Methodius cannot be determined, but one of the standard school texts of the period, the *Historia scholastica* of Petrus Comestor, contains a partial summary of this prophecy attributed to St. Methodius; see

After this brief preamble, let us return to our main account. When they finally won victory over the Hungarians, and the news of this terrible disaster had swiftly spread in all directions, almost the whole world trembled. Such fear spread through all regions that no one believed they could escape from their godless hands. They say that even Frederick the Roman Emperor¹ was thinking not of resisting but of hiding. Then many learned men, turning the pages of ancient scriptures, concluded, especially from the words of the martyr Methodius, that these were the peoples who were to precede the coming of the Antichrist.² They set about fortifying cities and castles, suspecting that the Tatars intended to make for Rome, devastating all in their path.

As for King Béla, he, fearing that after crossing the Danube the Tatars would lay waste the rest of his kingdom, sent to the city of Székesfehérvár, and taking the body of Saint Stephen the King along with the treasures from many churches, sent them all in the keeping of his wife the lady Mary and his small son Stephan,³ who was only two years old,⁴ to the coastal area, asking and entrusting to the Spalatins to take the treasures and preserve them, and faithfully to look after the queen and the boy. But when the queen arrived she allowed herself to be persuaded by certain persons ill-disposed towards the people of Split that she should not enter the city, and so instead she removed herself and all the royal treasure and took up residence in the castle of Klis. There were also many noblewomen in her train who had lost their husbands to the Tatars. The *podestà*

Jacques-Paul Migne, *Patrologiae cursus completus. Series Latina* (Paris: J. P. Migne, 1844–64), p. 198, coll. 1096–7. An awareness of the general tenor of the predictions of Pseudo-Methodius was reasonably widespread by this period; see Norman Cohn, *The Pursuit of the Millenium* (New York: Fairlawn, 1961), p. 18.

³ Queen Mary (Lascaris) and the future king Stephen V (1270–2), born 1239.

⁴ *Bimulus* is a very rare word, found once each in Catullus and Suetonius.

ad dominam accedentes multa precum instantia exorabant eam, ut mansionem civitatis aspernari minime dignaretur sed non acquievit regina. Spalatenses tamen multis eam afficientes honoribus crebris exeniis et donariis eius curiam frequentabant.

Eo tempore Colomannus rex ad Dominum feliciter de hac luce migravit.¹ Fuit enim vir pietate magis ac religione predictus quam in administrandis publicis rebus intentus. Sepultus est autem in loco fratrum predicatorum apud Cesmam,² latenti mausoleo infossus. Etenim gens nefandissima Tatarorum sepulchra christianorum et maxime principum sceleratis manibus violantes confringebant ossaque spargebant.

XXXVIII. DE FUGA HUNGARORUM

Itaque transacto Ianuario³ hyemalis asperitas solito magis inorruit, omnisque aquarum cursus, glatiali frigore constrictus, liberam viam hostibus patefecit. Tunc cruentus dux Caydanus recepta parte exercitus regem insecuturus exiret. Venit autem in multitudine gravi, obvia queque conculcans. Primo ergo concremata Budalia,⁴ Strigonium accessit, cepitque villam totis viribus impugnare, quam non satis difficulter capiens succendit omnesque in ea peremit in ore gladii paucasque manubias asportavit, quoniam in munitionem editam res suas Hungari subvexerant universas. Inde discedens recto cursu devenit ad urbem Albensem et continuo cuncta suburbane habitationis

¹ June 1241.

² The present-day parish church of St. Mary Magdalen in Čazma was a Dominican convent church until the Ottoman invasion. According to recent archaeological finds it was particularly richly decorated, apparently because King Béla IV used it as the mausoleum of his brother. A sepulchral slab of King Coloman existed as late as the middle of the nineteenth century, but later disappeared. For archaeological remnants, see Josip Stošić, "Crkva Sv. Marije Magdalene u Čazmi" [The church of St. Mary Magdalen in Čazma], in Josip Pandurić and Nino Škrabe (eds.), *Čazma u prošlom mileniju* [Čazma in the last millenium] (Zagreb: Disput, 2001), pp. 69–71.

³ That is, January 1242.

Gargano and the nobles of Split approached the queen and most earnestly entreated her that she not disdain to take up residence in the city; however, the queen declined to do so. Even so, the Spalatins came regularly to her court and paid her much honor, bringing many gifts and presents.

At this time King Coloman of happy memory passed to the Lord.¹ He was a man more given to piety and religion than concerned with the administration of public affairs. He was laid to rest with the Friars Preachers at Čazma² and was interred in the hidden crypt. For the iniquitous race of Tatars made a practice of violating Christian burial places with their impious hands, especially the tombs of princes, destroying them and scattering the remains.

38 THE FLIGHT OF THE HUNGARIANS

January³ had passed, and the winter was unusually harsh and bitter. It was so cold that all the waterways froze, offering an easy passage to the invaders. Then the bloodstained leader Qadan took part of his army and went in pursuit of the king. They were a vast host, and as they advanced they trampled everything in their path. First he burnt Buda;⁴ then he came to Esztergom, which they proceeded to besiege with all his forces. He captured it without much difficulty and set it alight, slaughtering all its inhabitants at the point of the sword and taking away but little booty, for the Hungarians had removed all their possessions to the high fortress. Then he left the city and marched straight to the city of Székesfehérvár. Immediately on arrival he burnt

⁴ Thomas is using the unusual term “Budalia,” probably implying more than one settlement at Buda. Before the Mongol invasion, Óbuda (today part of Budapest as its III. District, about four kilometers north of the castle hill of Buda) had served as one of the royal—and especially reginal—residences in the center of the kingdom.

domicilia concremavit, civitatem vero aliquot diebus obsessam factis insultibus invadere satagebat. Sed quia locus circumfusa palustrium aquarum copia satis erat munitus, quem optima Latinorum presidia¹ erectis undique machinis tuebantur, dux impius² vano frustratus labore discessit. Properabat autem regem attingere, idcirco non tantam vastationem transcurrendo facere poterat, sed adinstar estive grandinis ea dumtaxat loca demoliti sunt, per que transitum habuerunt.

Itaque antequam Dravi fluminis gurgitem transmearent, rex persentiens eorum adventum relictis stationibus Zagrabiensium partium cum omni comitatu suo ad mare descendit. Tunc diversi diversa querentes diffugia per omnes civitates maritimas, que propinquiores videbantur ad fugam, dispersi sunt. Rex vero et totus flos reliquiarum Hungarie ad Spalatinas partes devenit.³ Erant autem in comitatu regio multi ecclesiarum prelati, plures principes et barones, reliquum vero vulgus utriusque sexus et etatis pene innumerabile erat. Appropinquante autem domino rege ad introitum civitatis, universus clerus et populus processionaliter exeuntes debito venerationis obsequio susceperunt eum, dantes ei hospitia infra muros, quotquot voluit ipse. Venerunt etiam isti magnates cum eo: Stephanus episcopus Zagrabiensis⁴ et alter Stephanus Vacciensis et idem in Strigoniensem archiepiscopum postulatus,⁵ Benedictus Alben-

¹ Apparently referring to the Hospitallers, whose main seat for Hungary was in Székesfehérvár, see the articles of Zsolt Hunyadi ("The Hospitallers in the Kingdom of Hungary: Houses, Personnel, and a Particular Activity up to c. 1400") and of Anthony Luttrell ("The Hospitallers in Hungary before 1418: Problems and Sources") in Hunyadi and Laszlovszky, *The Crusades*, pp. 253–81. There is also a possibility that Thomas is here mentioning French or Walloon settlers (*hospites Latini*) who migrated to the city in the mid-twelfth century.

² Thomas consistently refers to Qadan as *dux impius*.

³ The king was in Trogir in the spring of 1242 (CD 4: 144–8, 151–3).

⁴ Stephen II, bishop of Zagreb (1225–47). He probably studied in Paris and had the title of a master. In 1225 he was papal subdeacon, bishop-elect of Zagreb and royal chancellor.

down all the dwellings outside the walls. He then laid siege to the city, and for several days did his best to attack and storm it. But the site was surrounded by marshes and quite well protected, and there was a very effective garrison of Latins,¹ who had built engines of war to defend it. So the unholy leader² was forced to retire in frustration, his labor expended in vain. However, he was in haste to overtake the king. So he was unable to inflict so much devastation in his passage, but like a summer hailstorm destroyed only those places though which he passed.

So, before they could cross the waters of the River Drava, the king, having advance word of their coming, left the camp around Zagreb and with all his entourage made for the sea. There they sought escape in different directions, scattering through all the towns of the sea coast, whichever seemed closer to flee to. The king and the flower of what remained of the Hungarians reached the region of Split.³ Now in the king's company there were many prelates of the church and a large number of princes and barons; furthermore, the host of refugees from among the commoners, of both sexes, was almost countless. When the king approached the entrance of the city, all the clergy and people came out in procession and received him with all due veneration and homage, offering him lodgings within their walls, as many as he wished. The following great men came with him: Stephen, the bishop of Zagreb,⁴ and another Stephen of Vác, who had been elected archbishop of Esztergom,⁵ Benedict, the provost of Székesfehérvár,

⁵ Most of the following prelates and barons are mentioned in the dignitary list of King Béla's privilege to the Tragurins issued on 18 March 1242 (CD 4: 146–8), which was apparently Thomas' source. Master Stephen of the Bánca kindred was briefly royal chancellor and provost of Vác immediately before he became bishop of Vác (1240–2). Following the death of Archbishop Matthias of Esztergom at Muhi, Stephen was elected to the primatial see, but his election was not confirmed until 7 July 1243. In 1252 he was appointed cardinal-bishop of Preneste. He died on 9 July 1270.

sis prepositus, aule regie cancelarius et idem ad Colocensem sedem electus,¹ Bartholomeus Quinqueecclesiensis episcopus² et quidam alii episcopi. Affuerunt nichilominus Hugrinus prepositus Cesmensis,³ Achilles prepositus,⁴ Vincentius prepositus,⁵ Thomas prepositus⁶ et alii quam plures prelati, quos enumerare supervacaneum duximus. Proceres quoque curie isti erant: Dionisius banus,⁷ Vladislaus comes curialis,⁸ Matheus magister tavernicorum,⁹ Orlandus magister agasonum,¹⁰ Dimitrius,¹¹ Mauritius¹² et alii multi illustres viri omnes cum domibus et familiis suis. Garganus autem potestas circa regium obsequium valde sedulus et devotus, curabat sollicite, ut et cives in executione mandatorum regaliū prompti existerent et regalis clementia universitatem civium affectu dilectionis et gratie confoveret. Fecerunt autem Spalatenses omnia ad regis placitum hoc excepto, quod ei quandam galeam minime potuere tam celeriter preparare, quantum rex declinans Tatarorum rabiem expetebat. Quod factum non satis equanimiter tulit regis animus. Noluit autem rex residere Spaleti, sed abiens cum uxore et cum omni-

¹ Master Benedict served as royal vice-chancellor and provost of Buda from February–March 1239 to July 1240, when he is first known to have functioned as chancellor (the position that he kept until his death) and provost at Székesfehérvár. His election to the see of Kalocsa followed the death of Archbishop Ugrinus at Muhi, and by September 23 1241 he is listed as *electus Colocensis*. Pope Innocent IV (1243–54) confirmed the election on 15 July 1243. Benedict's attempt in 1252–3 to succeed to the see of Esztergom failed to win papal approval. In 1254 he was appointed archbishop of Esztergom, and died in 1261.

² Bartholomew Gros (or Brancioni), bishop of Pécs from 1219, resigned his see in 1252 and died after May 1253.

³ Master Ugrinus *de genere* Csák later in 1244 became the royal candidate for the archiepiscopal see at Split. See below, ch. 45.

⁴ Master Achilles of the Hont–Pázmán kindred succeeded Master Benedict as provost of Székesfehérvár and is first recorded as royal vice-chancellor in 1243 (until 1250). He later became bishop of Pécs (1251–3/4).

⁵ Vincent is known as provost of Nagyvárád/Oradea from documents of 1242 and 1244; and became bishop of that see during 1244–58.

⁶ Thomas, provost of Buda, is mentioned in a royal document of 1243. He appears to have been the successor to Master Benedict at Buda.

chancellor of the royal court and bishop-elect of Kalocsa,¹ Bartholomew of Pécs² and some other bishops. Additionally, the company included Ugrinus, the provost of Čazma,³ the provost Achilles,⁴ the provost Vincent,⁵ the provost Thomas⁶ and numerous other prelates whom we deem it unnecessary to list. There were also the following leading men of the court: Ban Denys,⁷ Ladislav, count palatine,⁸ Matthew, master of the treasury,⁹ Roland, master of horse,¹⁰ and Demetrius,¹¹ Maurice¹² and many other distinguished men, all with their families and members of their households. Gargano the *podestà*, most assiduous and devoted in attendance on the king, took great care to ensure both that the citizens were prompt in executing the king's instructions, and that the king's mercy should embrace the whole citizen body with his love and grace. The Spalatins did indeed perform all to the king's satisfaction, save one thing alone, that they were unable to make ready a galley for him as quickly as he wished, to save him from the Tatars' frenzy. This the king bore with no little impatience. The king was unwilling to remain in residence in Split, but departing with his wife and all his treasure he moved to Trogir. He thought that there he

⁷ Denys of the Türje kindred was ban of all Slavonia (1241–5). In May 1242 he was apparently promoted to the rank of duke of all Slavonia, a position otherwise reserved for members of the royal family. As a member of the royal household he had served as count palatine, an office that he was to hold three times (1235–9, 1245–6 and 1248). He was also master of the treasury (1246–8).

⁸ Ladislav of the Kán kindred was count palatine from 1242–5. He was Denys' successor as ban and duke of all Slavonia in 1245.

⁹ Matthew of the Csák kindred was master of the treasury 1242–6.

¹⁰ Roland of the Rátót kindred was, in fact, royal steward (1242–5), not master of the horse. During Béla IV's reign, he held most of the principal offices in the royal household: butler (1241–2), judge royal (1246–8), count palatine (1248–60, 1272–3, 1274–5) and ban of Slavonia (1261–7 and 1277).

¹¹ Demetrius of the Csák kindred was judge royal in 1232–4 and 1242–5.

¹² Maurice of the Pok kindred was royal butler from 1242 to 1245; he later served as steward (1246–50) and treasurer (1260–70).

bus gazis suis demoratus est Tragurii, putans se ibi contra hostium incursum fortio rem habere tutelam propter vicinitatem insularum. Composuit autem se cum omni curia sua et mansit in insula adiacente.¹

XXXIX. DE SEVITIA TATARORUM

Porro dux impius nil intemptatum relinquere volens furioso constipatus exercitu post regem cucurrit, nil nisi regium sanguinem sitiens in regis perniciem totis furiis raptabatur. Parvam autem stragem de Sclavis facere potuit, quia latuerant homines in montibus et in silvis. Venit autem non quasi iter faciens, sed quasi per aerem volans loca invia et montes asperrimos supergrediens unde numquam exercitus ambulavit. Properabat enim impatienti festinatione arbitrans se regem posse invadere, antequam descendisset ad mare. Sed postquam rescivit, quod rex iam in maritimis tutus maneret, lentius gradi cepit. Et cum totus exercitus ad quandam aquam, que dicitur Sirbium,² descendisset, parumper consedit ibidem. Tunc truculentus carnifex iussit omnem captivitatem, quam ex Hungaria duxerat, congregari in unum, multitudinem magnam virorum et mulierum, puerorum et puellarum fecitque omnes in quandam planitiem duci. Et cum omnes quasi quidam grex ovium coadunati fuissent, missis spiculatoribus omnium fecit capita amputari. Tunc ingens audiebatur ululatus et planctus totaque terra moveri a voce pereuntium videbatur. Iacuerunt autem omnes in illa prostrati planitie, quemadmodum spicarum manipuli sparsim solent in agro iacere. Et ne cui videretur, quod cedis huius immanitas spoliis sit aviditate patrata, nullas ab eis vestes detrahere voluerunt, sed tota multitudo funeste gentis in circuitu occisorum illorum per contubernia discumbentes ceperunt in magna letitia comedere, choreas ducere, magnosque chachinos ludendo movere, quasi multum aliquid perpetrassent boni.

¹ Although Trogir is itself an island, Béla took the additional precaution of moving his court further to the west, to the adjacent island of Čiovo.

might be better protected against an enemy incursion because of the proximity of the islands. He settled with all his court and remained on the offshore island.¹

39 THE SAVAGERY OF THE TATARS

The unholy leader, unwilling to leave any crime uncommitted, with his raging army around him stayed on the heels of the king. Thirsting for nothing less than the king's blood, he threw himself with all fury into bringing about the king's destruction. He was able to inflict little slaughter on the Slavs, for these people had hidden in the mountains and forests. He arrived not as one journeying but as one flying through the air, surmounting pathless wastes and the most hostile mountains, where no army had gone before. He was driven by impatient haste, thinking that he could overtake the king before he reached the sea. But when he found out that the king was safely at the coast, he began to proceed more slowly. When his whole army reached a waterway called Sirbium,² he encamped there a while. Then the cruel butcher gave orders that all the captives that he had brought from Hungary should be gathered together in one place—a great multitude of men and women, boys and girls, and he had them all brought into a flat area. And when they were herded together like a flock of sheep he sent in his guards and had them all decapitated. Then a terrible wailing and crying could be heard and the whole earth seemed to move from the cries of the slaughtered. All lay dead scattered all over that plain, like bundles of corn lying scattered over a field. And in case anyone should imagine that this monstrous slaughter was perpetrated out of greed for spoils, they made no effort to remove the clothing. Rather, the whole multitude of this hellish race sat down in companies around the dead, and with great joy began eating and dancing and joking and rousing great laughter, as though they had performed some remarkably good deed.

² Sirbium is either the River Una or its confluent Srebrenica flowing into the Una near the settlement of Srb.

Inde surgentes ceptum iter per Chroatie partes carpebant. Cum autem prope iam essent, adhuc Spalatensibus incredibile videbatur. Sed cum pars aliqua descendisset de monte, ecce subito apparuerunt pauci sub menibus civitatis. Spalatenses autem non eos a principio cognoscentes et credentes eos esse Chroatas volebant armati contra eos exire. Sed Hungari visis eorum signis dirigerunt animis tantusque pavor eos corripuit, ut omnes ad ecclesiam confugerent, cum tremore magno percipiebant eucharistie sacramentum non sperantes lucem huius vite ulterius intueri. Flebant alii in uxorum et filiorum ruentes amplexus diris eiulatibus complangentes dicebant: «Ve miseris, quid profuit tanto fugiendi labore quassari? Quid contulit tanta terrarum spatia percurrisse, si persecutorum gladios effugere nequivimus, si hic expectavimus iugulari?» Tunc oppressio magna facta est ad omnes ianuas civitatis fugientium intra muros. Relinquebant equos et animalia, vestes et utensilia, ipsos etiam filios non prestolantes mortis urgente stimulo ad tutiora currebant. At vero Spalatenses magnam eis humanitatis gratiam exhibentes recipiebant hospitio et eorum inopiam, quantum poterant, relevabant. Sed tanta erat fugitantium multitudo, ut domorum eos non caperent diverticula, sed manebant in vicis et in viis. Nobiles etiam matrone circa septa ecclesie sub divo iacebant. Alii in fornicium tenebras se abdebant, alii purgantes munditias de andronis et criptis, alii ubi poterant etiam sub tentoriis comanebant.

Tatari vero universos, quos in campo reperire poterant, sub gladio trucidantes, non parcebant muliebribus vel pueris, senibus vel debilibus, ipsis etiam lepre morbo tabentibus ferro vitam eripere barbarica feritate gaudebant. Tunc quedam turma illorum menibus appropinquans tota civitate undique perlustrata eodem

Then they rose from there and continued their journey through Croatia. Even though they were near, it all seemed unbelievable to the Spalatins. But when one part of them had descended from the mountains, then a few of them suddenly appeared before the walls of the city. At first the Spalatins did not recognize who they were, and, thinking that they were Croats, they wanted to go out in arms against them. But when the Hungarians saw their standards, their minds froze. Such fear gripped them that they all fled to the church and in trembling partook of the Eucharist, not believing that they would see the light of life any longer. Others threw themselves into the arms of their wives and children and wept, giving out terrible cries of grief and saying, "Woe is us! What did it profit us to struggle and exhaust ourselves in order to flee? What good did it do to cross such vast expanses of the world if we could not escape the swords of our pursuers, if what awaited us was to be slaughtered here?" Then there was a great crush of people fleeing to every gate from within the walls of the city. They left behind horses and animals, clothing and equipment; they did not even wait for their children, but driven by death's goad they rushed to find safer places. But the Spalatins showed them great kindness and favor, took them into their dwellings and helped them in their need as much as they could. But so great were the number of refugees that their homes were not large enough to accommodate them all, and they remained in the streets and alleys. Even noble matrons lay in the open air around the precincts of the church. Other persons found refuge under dark archways, others cleared out the filth from underground rooms and passageways, while still others stayed wherever they could, even in tents.

But whenever the Tatars found anyone in the fields, they put them to the sword, all without exception, sparing neither women nor children, aged or weak; they even took the life of those wasting from leprosy, rejoicing at their barbaric savagery. Then one company of them approached the city walls, and after re-

die recessit. Spalatenses autem ceperunt fabricare machinas et eas per oportuna erigere loca. Ecce autem paucis diebus elapsis venit Caydanus cum aliquota parte sui exercitus, quia non erant herbe pro toto equitatu sufficientes, erat enim principium Martii asperis frigoribus inhorrescens. Credentes autem Tataři, quod rex in Clisse presidio consideret, ceperunt undique oppugnare castrum iacentes sagittas et iacula intorquentes. Sed quia locus erat natura munitus, modicam poterant inferre iacturam. Tunc descendentes de equis ceperunt reptantes manibus ad superiora conscendere. Castrenses vero ingentes lapides revolventes in ipsos aliquot ex eis neci dederunt. Ipsi vero ex casu ferociores effecti usque sub magnas rupes manu ad manum pugnando venerunt diripientes domos predasque non modicas asportantes. Sed cum cognovissent regem ibi non esse, dimiserunt oppugnare castrum et ascensis equis versus Tragurium equitarunt. At Spaletum autem non multi diverterunt ex eis.

Tunc vero cives non tantum proprio titubantes pavore, quantum ex eo, quod videbant Hungaros desperabili metu constringi, cogitabant aliqui civitatem deserere et cum rebus et familiis ad insularum presidia se conferre. Ceperunt autem vanos agitare rumores, confingentes opiniones varias et inanes. Dicebant alii, quod ingentes machinas et plurima instrumenta bellica Tataři fabricarent, quibus civitates has deicere conabuntur. Asserebant alii, quod ad montis instar terre ac lapidum congeriem acervabant et sic civitatibus supereminentes facile eos esse capturos.

Sed Tatarorum agmina cum duce impio in Traguriensi litore consederunt. Porro rex videns Tatarorum exercitus ante asilum

connoitering the whole circuit of the city turned back the same day. The Spalatins, however, began to construct engines of war and to erect them at suitable spots. Then after a few days had passed Qadan arrived with a small portion of his host, since there was not sufficient fodder for all the horses in the army; for it was the beginning of March, and the weather was still harshly cold. However, the Tatars believed that the king was in the fortress of Klis, and so they began to attack the fort from all sides, launching arrows and hurling spears. However, the place was naturally well fortified, and they could cause only limited harm. So then they dismounted from their horses and began to creep up hand over hand to higher ground. But the defenders of the fort hurled huge stones at them and managed to kill a number of them. This setback, however, only made them more ferocious, and they came right up to the great walls and fought hand to hand. They looted the houses and took away no little plunder. But when they learnt that the king was not there, they abandoned their attack on the fortress, and ascending their mounts rode off in the direction of Trogir. All the same, no small number of them turned towards Split.

The citizens trembled, not so much because of their being seized with terror themselves but because they saw that the Hungarians were paralyzed in fear and desperation. Some therefore planned to abandon the city and make for the safety of the islands with their households and possessions. They began to spread empty rumors, inventing a range of idle stories. Some told of huge siege machines and vast numbers of war engines that the Tatars were constructing, with which they intended to level these cities. Others asserted that they were heaping up a pile of earth and stones as high as a mountain, and from this superior height they would be able to capture the cities without difficulty.

In fact, the Tatar contingents and their godless leader took up a position on the shore by Trogir. The king, seeing the Tatars

sui diffugii descendisse, non satis tutum sibi fore arbitrans in insulis prope positis comorari transposuit dominam cum sua prole et cum omnibus thesauris ad naves, quas conduxerat, ipse vero in quodam residens ligno advehebatur remigibus, inspectans adversarias aties et rei eventum expectans. Ceterum dux Caydanus omnibus loci illius circumstantiis perlustratis temptabat, si posset sub menibus equitando transire. Sed cum cognovisset, quod aqua illa, per quam civitas a terra dirimitur, propter limi profunditatem invadibilis erat, retraxit se inde et ad suos reversus misit quendam nuntium ad civitatem mandans, que verba effari deberet. Qui veniens prope pontem, exclamavit voce magna Sclavonice¹ dicens: «Hec dicit vobis divinus Caydanus, invicte militie princeps. Nolite reatum alieni sanguinis vobis appropriare, sed tradite adversarios ad manus nostras, ne forte involvamini vindicte eorum et pereatis frustra.» Sed murorum custodes nil ad eorum verba respondere sunt ausi. Mandaverat enim rex, ut nullum eis redderent verbum. Tunc universa multitudo eorum inde consurgens via, qua venerat, reversa recessit. Sic ergo per totum fere Martium in Chroatie ac Dalmatie partibus commorantes, quinque aut sex vicibus ad civitates has descendebant et postea ad sua castra redibant.

Igitur relinquentes Chroatie regionem transierunt per ducatum provincie Bosenensis.² Inde descendentes abierunt per regnum Servie, que Rasia nuncupatur veneruntque ad civitates maritimas superioris Dalmatie³ et pertranseuntes Ragusium, modicam enim illic potuerunt lesionem inferre, venerunt ad Catariensem civitatem, quam ignibus concremantibus processerunt ulterius hasque civitates aggressi: Suagium et Drivosten,

¹ John of Plano Carpini and William of Rubruk also report the presence among the Mongols of translators capable of reading and speaking very diverse languages. Qadan's use of the Slavonic tongue to address the inhabitants of Trogir points to the Mongol presumptions of the predominantly Slavic composition of the population of Trogir at that time.

arrive opposite his place of refuge, thought that it would not be secure enough to remain on the islands near the shore. He put his lady and his children and all his treasure aboard ships that he had hired, while he himself embarked on a boat and had himself rowed past the enemy lines, inspecting them and weighing up the eventualities. Qadan, on the other hand, after reconnoitering the nature of the position, made an attempt to break through by riding along close beneath the walls. But he discovered that the water that separated the city from the land was impassable because of the depth of the mud, and so he withdrew back to his followers. He then sent a messenger to the city with a message to deliver. This man came close to the walls and cried out loudly in the Slavonic language:¹ "These are the words of the sacred Qadan, leader of an invincible army. Do not bring upon yourself the guilt for the blood of others, but hand over our enemies into our hands, lest you become involved in the vengeance with which they shall meet and perish for nothing." But the guards on the walls dared not reply to these words. For the king had left instructions that no word should be given to them. Then the whole horde of Tatars rose up and departed, returning the way that they had come. They remained in the region of Croatia and Dalmatia for the whole of March, during which time they descended five or six times on the cities, returning thereafter to their camp.

Then they left the region of Croatia and passed through the duchy of the province of Bosnia.² From there they passed through the kingdom of Serbia, which is called Rascia, and reached the coastal cities in Upper Dalmatia;³ and bypassing Dubrovnik, where they could only inflict limited damage, they came to the city of Kotor, which they burnt down before progressing on, and then attacked the cities of Svač and Drishti,

² By this strange phrase Thomas presumably implies a certain level of independence on the part of Matthew Ninoslav, ban of Bosnia (ca. 1232 – ca. 1249).

³ See above, ch. 15.

depopulati sunt eas in ore gladii non reliquentes in eis mingen-tem ad parietem.¹ Iterum autem totam Serviam percurrentes in Bulgariam devenerunt. Ibi enim uterque dux Bathus et Cayd-
anus condixerant suarum turmarum copias recensere. Illi ergo
ibidem coadunati curiam celebrarunt et simulantes gratiam
exhibere captivis fecerunt per totum exercitum preconis voce
clamari, ut quicumque esset in comitatu eorum spontaneus vel
captivus, qui vellet redire in patriam, liberam se sciret habere
licentiam ex clementia ducum. Tunc multitudo magna Hunga-
rorum, Sclavorum et aliarum gentium nimia exultatione repleti
data die de exercitu exierunt. Et cum omnes conglobatim duo-
bus aut tribus milibus processissent, statim misi equitum cunei
irruerunt in eos, quos simul gladiis detruncantes in ipsa planitie
prostraverunt.

At vero Bela rex missis exploratoribus cum cognovisset cer-
tius, quod impia gens ex toto iam regno recesserat² absque
omni cunctatione in Hungariam est profectus. Regina autem
cum regio puero in Clisse castro remansit fuitque ibi usque ad
mensem Septembrem. Mortue autem sunt due filie ipsius puella
virgines, et in ecclesia beati Domnii honorifice tumulate.³

Licet autem barbarica rabies totum regnum Hungaricum im-
moderato gladio attrivisset, e vestigio tamen famis subsecuta
pernities miserabilem plebem tabo inedia devastavit. Instante
namque furore Tartareo, non licuit colonis miseris arvis semina
tradere, non valere preterite messionis recolligere fruges. Sic
ergo non extantibus alimentorum subsidiis cadebant infelicium
corpora clade famis absorta. Iacebant per campos, per vias in-
numera vulgi cadavera, ut non minus credatur hec acerba lues

¹ Cf. 1 Kings 16: 11. The expression “with the edge of the sword” (*in ore gla-
dii*) is also biblical, particularly frequently used in Joshua and Judges.

² Thomas offers no explicit argument for the withdrawal of the Mongols from
Hungary, although he mentions (above) the fact that they had logistical dif-
ficulties providing fodder for their horses. He says nothing of the death of
the Great Khan Ögedei (who died in 1241).

which they totally devastated with the edge of the sword, and left in them not one that pissed against a wall.¹ They then traveled swiftly through all of Serbia and came to Bulgaria. For both leaders, Batu and Qadan, had resolved to hold a muster of their military forces there. So they met there and held court and, under the guise of showing mercy to their prisoners, had a herald proclaim throughout the host that anyone in their company, whether there voluntarily or as a captive, who wished to return to his homeland should know that by the mercy of the leaders he was free to go. Then a great crowd of Hungarians, Slavs, and other peoples, full of the greatest exultation, left the host on the day set down. And when they had advanced in a body about two or three miles, forthwith cavalry units were sent out and let loose upon them, and they were all immediately cut down with the sword and their bodies left on the plain.

Meanwhile, King Béla had sent out scouts, and when he found out for certain that the godless race had left the whole of his realm,² he set out without delay for Hungary. The queen and the young prince, however, remained behind in the castle of Klis and stayed there until September. Meanwhile, his two little daughters died and were buried with due honor in the church of Saint Domnius.³

Although the scourge of the barbarians had wasted the whole realm of Hungary with their raging sword, this was followed by a terrible famine, which devastated the wretched people and reduced them to starvation. For with the fury of the Tatars upon them the poor farmers had not been able to plant the fields, and nor could they bring in the previous harvest. So for lack of food to keep them alive the poor people fell dead from starvation. Their bodies lay scattered over the fields, and the corpses of the common people lined the roads in countless numbers, so that it

³ The tomb of the two princesses, Margaret and Catherine, may still be seen in the portico of the cathedral. See Joško Belamarić, *Split—od carske palače do grada* [Split: From imperial palace to city] (Split: Grad Split, 1998), p. 47.

inedie gentem Ungaricam devastasse, quam pestilens immanitas Tatarorum. Post hec vero rabidorum luporum multitudo, quasi de diaboli caverna emersit, qui nonnisi humanum sanguinem sitiens, non iam occultis insidiis, sed palam irrumpebant in domos et de matrum gremiis parvulos rapiebant; nec solum parvulos, sed ipsos etiam armatos viros facto agmine invadentes sevis dentibus lacerabant. Tribus ergo cladibus antedictis, videlicet ferro, fame, fera totum regnum Hungarie continuato triennio¹ flagellatum ex divino iudicio penam suorum expendit non mediocriter peccatorum.

XL. DE OBITU GUNCELLI

His ita gestis, regina adhuc considente in castro,² Guncellus archiepiscopus ab hac luce migravit.³ Vir senex et plenus dierum et ipse prefuit Spalatensi ecclesie annis viginti duobus. Hos autem episcopos eiusdem ecclesie suffraganeos suo tempore consecravit: Nicolaum Scardonensem⁴ quo defuncto alium ibidem consecravit episcopum nomine Bartholomeum.⁵ Fuerunt autem ambo isti de Spalatensi civitate assumpti. In episcopatu Farensi consecravit Nicolaum, qui erat canonicus Spalatensis.⁶ In episcopatu Seniensi consecravit Borislaum,⁷ quo defuncto substituit ei Iohannem.⁸ In Nonensi ecclesia consecravit Samsonem.⁹ Omnes hi tres fuerunt Hungari natione. In Cor-

¹ An allusion to the threefold destruction of Israel prophesied in Ezekiel 38: 20–2, but perhaps further refracted through the tradition of Pseudo-Methodius.

² I.e. Klis.

³ Before September 1242.

⁴ Nicholas is mentioned as bishop of Skradin from 1226 to 1229 (CD 3: 259, 301, 316, 328).

⁵ There was another Bartholomew who was the predecessor of Nicholas. This Bartholemew, who was his successor, is mentioned in the documents for the first time in 1248 (CD 4: 338).

is believed that the people of Hungary were no less afflicted by this bitter scourge of famine than by the pestilential savagery of the Tatars. Then there came a huge number of ravening wolves emerging as if from the devil's cavern, who thirsted for nothing but human blood and now no longer attacked from hidden ambushes but openly broke into homes and snatched infants from the embrace of their mothers. And not only little children; gathered in packs, they would pursue even armed men and tear them apart with their terrible teeth. So these three disasters described above, namely war, famine, and wild beasts, scourged the whole realm of Hungary for three whole years on end,¹ and by God's judgement they paid no little price for the sins that they had committed.

40 THE DEATH OF GUNCCEL

After these events had taken place, while the queen was still in residence in the castle,² Archbishop Guncel departed this life.³ He was an old man, full of years, and had been at the head of the church of Split for twenty-two years. During his time of office he consecrated the following as bishops of the suffragan churches of his see. As bishop of Skradin he consecrated Nicholas,⁴ and when Nicholas died, another bishop to the same see named Bartholemew;⁵ both were taken from the city of Split. To the episcopate of Hvar he consecrated Nicholas, a canon from Split.⁶ To the episcopate of Senj he consecrated Borislav,⁷ and after his death he appointed John⁸ in his place. To the church of Nin he consecrated Samson.⁹ The latter three

⁶ Nicholas is mentioned as the bishop of Hvar in a non-authentic grant of King Béla IV to the noblemen of Hvar of 1242 (CD 4: 151–2) and in a charter of 1256 (CD 5: 4).

⁷ Borislav is mentioned in documents of 1233 and 1234 (CD 3: 459, 426).

⁸ John is not mentioned in any other source.

⁹ Samson is mentioned in documents from 1242 to 1269 (CD 4: 202, 240; CD 5: 390, 426, 505, 506).

bavia fecit episcopum quendam iuvenem, qui erat de parentella Domaldi comitis, nomine Sarracenum.¹

In illis diebus coadunato capitulo et clero ecclesie Spalatensis factus est tractatus de pontifice subrogando. Tunc laycali importunitate et maxime Gargani annisu, modesto tamen et discreto, facta est electio de domino Stephano, Zagrabiensi episcopo, in Spalatensem archiepiscopum postulandum, qui tunc temporis Spalati morabatur.² Erat autem episcopus ipse in auro et argento locuplex valde, aliis etiam divitiis opulentus. Mundana pompositate largus et curialis benignum se omnibus et affabilem exhibebat. Totus enim extolli favoribus et efferri hauris popularibus cupiebat. Regressus autem Zagrabiam misit ad Romanam sedem pro sue postulationis expetendo assensu. Sed tunc temporis mortuo bene memorie Gregorio papa,³ facta est dissensio inter cardinales ita, ut subrogatio summi pontificis foret ferme biennio protellata. Sic ergo causa electionis ipsius episcopi toto illo tempore indeterminata permansit.

XLI. DE SEDITIONE APUD S. STEPHANUM

Interim autem Garganus completo regiminis sui triennio ad propria repedavit.⁴ Spalatenses vero fecerunt potestatem quendam iuvenem de domo Vegliensium comitum, nomine Iohannem.⁵ Hic, quantum sibi dabatur scire, per Gargani vestigia gradiens rem publicam gubernabat, sed etatis fluide mobilitate lascivus facile ad inscitiam flectebatur.

¹ Saracen is mentioned as the bishop of Krbava from 1251 to 1274 (CD 4: 450; CD 5: 597, 609; CD 6: 8–9, 17).

² See above, ch. 38, esp. n. 4, p. 290.

³ Gregory IX died on 22 August 1241. Celestine IV succeeded to the papal throne on 25 October the same year, but died in November. His successor, Pope Innocent IV, was not elected until 25 June 1243.

⁴ May 1242.

were all Hungarians. As bishop of Krbava he chose a young man named Saracen,¹ of Count Domald's family.

At that time, the chapter and clergy of the church of Split came together and held discussions about finding a replacement for the archbishop. Then at the insistence of the laity, and in particular with the support of Gargano—although this was given soberly and with discretion—the choice was made that Stephen, bishop of Zagreb, who was staying at that time in Split,² be postulated as archbishop of Split. This bishop had great wealth in gold and silver and was endowed with other riches as well. Lavish in worldly pomp and courtly, he showed himself well-disposed and easy of address to everyone. He was altogether content to be raised and exalted by the winds of popular favor. And so he returned to Zagreb and sent a message to the Holy See seeking assent to his nomination. But at that time Pope Gregory of blessed memory was dead,³ and a quarrel had arisen among the cardinals, so that the election of his successor had been delayed for nearly two years. Thus the matter of the archbishop's election remained unsettled during all that period.

41 THE RIOT AT SAINT STEPHEN'S

In the meantime, Gargano returned to his own home, having completed his three years of governance.⁴ The Spalatins thereupon elected a certain young man from the house of the counts of Krk, whose name was John.⁵ In governing the republic he followed the steps of Gargano as best he could, but, being of an unsettled age, he was pliant and prone to self-indulgence, easily led astray into ill-advised acts.

⁵ Count John is mentioned as the *podestà* of Split in the documents from July 1242 to April 1243 (CD 4: 155, 184). The family had held hereditary lordship of the island of Krk since the early twelfth century and later in mainland Croatia, and was thus subject both to Venice and the king of Hungary. They were the ancestors of the famous comital family of the Frankapani/Frangipani.

Eo tempore vacante monasterio sancti Stephani rogatus est Thomas archidiaconus et capitulum, quatenus illuc accedentes de subrogatione abbatis cum eiusdem loci fratribus providerent. Archidiaconus ergo, associatus capitulo universo, ad monasterium perrexit. Et cum bono zelo et sollicitudine debita de abbatis subrogatione tractarent, monachi secedentes seorsum et inter se aliquandiu conferentes omnes in quendam confratrem suum, nomine Leonardum,¹ convenerunt, ipsum in abbatem unanimiter eligendo ipsumque archidiacono et capitulo presentantes petierunt eundem vice archiepiscopi confirmari. Videns autem archidiaconus cum capitulo, quod omnia rite procederent, habito consilio approbatam electionem confirmaverunt.

Statim ergo, ut in civitate auditum est, irruerunt a maiore usque ad minorem ad potestatem clamantes: «Succurre, domine potestas, quia archidiaconus cum quibusdam clericis in vestrum opprobrium et totius civitatis detrimentum abbatem ordinare presumit.» Et ecce, concursus factus est omnium confusa vociferatione perstreptentium. Alii etiam seditionis ignorantes causam, potestatem simpliciter sequebantur. Sed quidam, qui archidiaconum malignis insectabantur odiis, nocendi occasionem repperisse gaudebant. Currebant passim omnes, veluti predonum afforet aties violenta. Armabantur non gladiis et iaculis, sed acerbis odiis et mendacibus linguis. Non retrahebat eos pugnandi formido, cum scirent hostes expectare inermes.

Sedebant canonici in claustro quieti, utpote nullius mali conscii, nichil suspicabantur sinistri. Et ecce vesanus iuvenis² cum furiosa cohorte per ianuas monasterii violenter irrupit. Adsunt pueri, senes et iuvenes impulsu vecordie concitati, garrulis vocibus perstreptentes. Spumant labra, anelant pectora iracundie

¹ In spite of the fact that this election was unsuccessful, Leonard later became the abbot and was mentioned as such in a document of 6 April 1248 (CD 4: 347).

² That is, Count John.

At this time the monastery of Saint Stephen was vacant, and Archdeacon Thomas and the chapter were asked to go there and, together with the brothers of that place, to arrange for the election of a new abbot. Hence the archdeacon, in company with the whole chapter, went to the monastery, and with proper zeal and due attention they discussed the choice of abbot. The monks then retired, and after conferring among themselves for a time they all agreed on one of their former fellows, called Leonard,¹ and unanimously chose him to be elected abbot. They presented him to the archdeacon and to the chapter, and asked the archdeacon to confirm his promotion in the name of the archbishop. The archdeacon and the chapter saw that everything had been done according to proper form, so after taking counsel they confirmed the choice of election.

But as soon as this was heard in the city, both young and old thronged to the *podestà* shouting: "Help, Lord *Podestà*! The archdeacon, together with some other clerics, has presumed to promote somebody to abbot—an insult to you and a disaster for the whole city!" And behold, the people rushed together all protesting and shouting in confusion. Others, however, had no idea what the uproar was about but simply followed the *podestà*. Some people, however, who were full of malice and hate towards the archdeacon, were delighted to find an opportunity to do him harm. People were running in all directions, as if a warlike band of pirates had materialized. But they were armed not with swords and spears, but with bitter hate and mendacious tongues. No fear of battle held them back, knowing that the enemy that awaited them was unarmed.

The canons were seated peacefully in the cloister, with clear consciences, and suspecting nothing amiss, when lo, the crazed young man² burst violently through the gates of the monastery at the head of a furious troop. There were boys, old men and young present, driven by mad impulse, shouting and babbling. Their mouths foamed and their breasts panted, incensed

flammis succensa. Tum totas furoris relaxantes habenas canonicos invadunt, quosdam verbis, quosdam verberibus impetentes. Precipue in archidiaconum impias inicientes manus totam eius tunicam lacerarunt. Mox in monachorum cellulas irrumpentes diripiebant sarcinulas, vasa frangebant, scrutantes, si dictum possent invenire Leonardum, ut eum cederent vel forsan morte punirent. Erant tamen nonnulli cives, quibus tanti facinoris temeritas displicebat, tam stolidi facta corde et animo detestantes. Sed quia stultorum infinitus est numerus, necesse erat multitudini cedere et eam coniventibus oculis supportare.

Reversi tandem de claustro, quasi devictis hostibus gloriantes, coadunati sunt in palatio publico et facta contione sapiens potestas proloquens iactabat se dicens: «Viri prudentes, hodie opus valde laudabile a nobis patratum est, quod ad statum civitatis et honoris nostri cumulum non est dubium provenire.» Sed quia rectore puero puerili consilio civitas agebatur, non erat, qui condoleret prostrate iustitie, qui murum se pro domo Israhel opponeret ascendentibus ex adverso,¹ cum, pro pudor, ipsi etiam clerici odio archidiaconi tantum maleficio excusare malitiose nitentes presumptionem perversorum civium vanis assentationibus demulcebant.

Porro quesitus Leonardus per multa latibula demum inventus est et quia furoris calor aliquantulum iam tepuerat, non enormiter manus in eum miserunt, sed tractus ad palatium multisque minarum iaculis impetitus violenter coactus est resignare. At vero capitulum, quia pastoralis carebat presidio, iniuriarum suarum dissimulavit opprobria tum, quia iure cautum reperitur detrahendum esse severitati, quando multitudo excedit, tum

¹ Cf. Ezek. 13: 5.

by anger. Then, letting go all restraint on their tempers, they set upon the canons, attacking some of them with words, others with blows. They especially set their unholy hands against the archdeacon, and they tore his whole tunic into pieces. Soon they invaded the cells of the monks, plundered their meager coffers, and smashed their cups and plates, searching high and low to find the aforementioned Leonard, in order to beat him or possibly to kill him. To be sure, there were some citizens who did not approve of this great and presumptuous crime, who hated such stupid actions with all their heart and soul. But the number of fools was infinite, so they had no choice but to let the multitude have its way, and, turning a blind eye, to go along with the crowd.

Returning at last from the cloister, as if they had triumphed over a defeated enemy, they gathered at the public palace, and having called a meeting, this most wise *podestà* began to address them boastingly: "Sensible men, today a truly praiseworthy deed was done by us, one that will undoubtedly enhance the status of the city and advance our own honor." But since the city was ruled by a child with all the wisdom of a child, there was no one to regret the overthrow of justice, none to set himself as a wall for Israel against an enemy climbing from the other side,¹ when for shame, the clerics themselves out of hate of the archdeacon maliciously sought to excuse this wicked deed, supporting the presumption of the wicked citizens with empty flattery.

Meanwhile, Leonard was being sought in various hiding places, and finally he was found. But since the heat of their fury had by now cooled a little, they did not lay hands on him immoderately. Instead, they marched him to the palace, where they launched violent threats against him and forced him to resign. The chapter, however, lacking the defense of a pastor, chose to ignore the shame of its injuries—on the one hand because it took into account the fact that the severity of the law was to be lessened when large numbers of people were involved, and

quia tale tempus instare cernebant, quod perversitas hominum ex rigida correctione non in melius sed in deterius mutaretur. Denuntiatis ergo et exclusis ab ecclesia paucis quibusdam personis, que in commisso facinore fuerant principales, dimiserunt laycos abbatem querere pro sue arbitrio voluntatis.

Tunc miserunt quendam laycum in Apuliam cum monachis mandantes eis, ut per monasteria terre illius quererent quem preficerent in abbatem. Sic et factum est. Duxerunt autem quemdam ex Cavensi cenobio,¹ nomine Bysantium. Hic quia ignarus erat admissi facinoris et bona videbatur fide venisse, abbas monasterii creatus est.

Sed non dormit neque dormitat, qui custodit Israhel.² Impie namque contra legem Dei agere impune non cedit. Unde quasi miraculose actum est, ut quando layci gaudebant, quod quasi superiores effecti, optinuerant contra ecclesiam suum placitum expleri, divina ultio manifestata est. Etenim eodem die et eadem hora, qua dictus abbas de navigio egressus pedem in monasterio posuit, castellanus, qui presidebat castro Clisie,³ cum suis ad Salonam descendens duos iuvenes nobiles Spalatenses sagittis traiectos in flumine suffocavit. Quod scelus seminarium exitit gravissime discordie inter Hungaros et Spalatinos bellumque acerimum exortum est, per quod civitas amissione personarum et rerum graviter est punita. Quadam namque die Hungari confederati cum Chrovatis, qui erant de Tiniensi castro, armatis cuneis descenderunt et nullo rumore preambulo fere usque ad muros predaturi cucurrerunt. Spalatenses vero improvisis ac repentinis turbationibus excitati exierunt ad arma congressum cum eis facturi. Stetit autem eminus Hungarorum et Chroato-

¹ The abbey of the Holy Trinity in Cava, a town north-east of Salerno.

² Cf. Ps. 120: 4 (121: 4).

³ The castellan of Klis was a certain Alexander (CD 4: 184–5).

on the other because it felt that a time was at hand when strict punishment would alter people's wicked ways not for the better, but for the worse. So after denouncing a few ringleaders and banning them from church, they left the laymen to search for an abbot according to their own desires.

Thereupon they sent a certain layman to Apulia along with some of the monks, charging them to search through the monasteries of that region until they should find somebody who could be promoted as abbot. And so they did. They brought a person called Bysantius from the monastery of Cava.¹ This man did not know anything about the crime that had been committed, and had evidently come in good faith, and so he was promoted to abbot.

But He who guards Israel never sleeps nor slumbers,² and nor do unholy acts that contravene the law of God go unpunished. And so it happened as if miraculously that just when the laymen were rejoicing as if they had gained the upper hand and had succeeded in getting their own way, in opposition to the church, a divine vengeance was made manifest. For on the very day and at the very hour when the aforementioned abbot had disembarked from the ship and set foot in the monastery, the castellan who was in charge of the fortress of Klis³ came down to Solin with his people, and after shooting two young Spalatin nobles with arrows, he drowned them in the river. This crime was the seed of a terrible discord between the Hungarians and the Spalatins, and a most bitter war broke out, which led to the city being punished severely with the loss of lives and possessions. For on a certain day the Hungarians, in alliance with the Croats who were in the castle of Knin, descended in armed bands, and, without any warning preceding them, advanced almost to the walls of the city in pursuit of plunder. The Spalatins, however, roused by the unexpected and sudden confusion, went out armed to do battle with them. The close ranks of the Hungarians and the Croats stood at a distance, and facing them

rum acies constipata, ex adverso autem potestas cum sua cohorte stans et deliberans expectabat, donec ex civitate maior accurreret copia armatorum. Sed potestatis miles, qui secundus erat ab ipso, vir plus quam decebat impetuosus et audax, non passus longiores moras certaminis admissio equo ferri cepit in hostes. Sperabat enim prospere sibi succedere, quia de ipsis palam victoriae pluries reportarant. Cuccurrerunt et alii post ipsum, quibus ardentius extuabat animus civitatis iniurias vindicare. Potestas vero cum ceteris nolentes in dubiis rebus ludum attemptare fortune a longe substiterunt. Tunc permixti hostium cunei ceperunt viriliter preliari. Sed quia non habuerunt succursum a suis, facile pauci a multis superati sunt. Nam quos divina ultio punire decreverat, non uniformiter audere poterant vel timere, sed cum essent ab invicem corde et corpore disgregati, animosos obruit gladius, timidos vero pusillanimitatis sue obprobrium in despectum deiecit. Sic ergo predictus miles gladiis confossus occubuit et cum eo nobilis vir Theodosius et inter optimos cives primus hostilibus mactatus est armis, de cuius morte tota civitas maximum perpessa est detrimentum. Nonnullis etiam aliis trucidatis infelix dies luctuosa satis nobis et nimis amara transivit. Neque tunc finem habuit infausta congressio, sed multis postea dampnis et doloribus affecti luximus et vix tandem flamma huius discordie restincta est et finita.

Transacto autem sui regiminis anno Iohannes potestas recessit, cui successit Bernardus Tergestinus,¹ vir etate maturus, sed quem assuetudo bellandi asperum effecerat et inquietum. Erat enim homo magnanimus et glorie cupidus, ad arma promptus, ad civile regimen tardus.

¹ Bernard is mentioned as *podestà* from May to November 1243 (*Serie* 8: 74–5, 98–100; CD 4: 196, 205).

stood the *podestà* and his troop, waiting and deliberating until more reinforcements of armed men could arrive from the city. But the *miles* of the *podestà*, his second-in-command, a man more headstrong and daring than was fitting, could not endure prolonged delays in the contest. Spurring his horse he galloped towards the enemy, confident that he could carry it off, as he had already been victorious a number of times over them. Then others, whose hearts more ardently burnt to avenge the city's injuries, rushed after him. The *podestà*, and the others, however, not willing to tempt fortune in a dubious situation, kept well back. Then they engaged the units of the enemy and began to fight manfully. But because they had no backing from their own side, and because they were few in number, they were easily overcome by the superior numbers. For once divine vengeance had determined to punish them, it was not given to them to dare in unison or to fear in unison, but rather, being divided from each other in spirit as well as in body, the brave perished by the sword, while the cowardly brought dishonor upon themselves by their faintheartedness. And so the aforementioned *miles* died pierced by swords, and with him the noble Theodosius, one of the most distinguished citizens to be cut down by enemy weapons. Because of his death the whole city suffered a great calamity. Others too were killed, and it was an unhappy and most bitter and grievous day for us. And that was not the end of this ill-omened clash; rather, we were to mourn over many subsequent losses and griefs, and only with difficulty was the flame of this discord at last extinguished and put out.

When the *podestà* John had finished his year of office he left, and he was succeeded by Bernard of Trieste.¹ He was a man of mature years, but constant warfare had made him harsh and restless. He was generous and eager for glory, quick when the need was for arms, but sluggish in civil affairs.

XLII. DE SECUNDA CAPTIONE IADRE

Hoc tempore Iaderenses cives, letis successibus sublevati, ceperunt animos ad insolentias retorquere et contempnentes vetera, quibus optimo statu florebant, voluerunt nova et incerta moliri. Etenim Venetico dominatui rebellantes cupiebant se ab ipsius iugo prorsus subtrahere. Cum enim inter ceteros comprovinciales suos terra marique forent potentia et divitiis sublimati, fastidio habere ceperunt nauticis lucris incumbere, voluerunt militie pompas inaniter experiri. Constructis nempe villis et oppidis gaudebant militari equitatu volare.¹ Quam ob rem rupto federe dominationis antique,² iuramenti religione contempta, manifestos se hostes Venetis ostenderunt.³

Sed Veneti, ut circumspecti et solertes viri, a principio dissimulantes iniurias et dampna equanimiter supportantes traxerunt prius cunctos captivos et pecunias, quas Iadre habuerant, receperunt. Deinde paulatim preparaverunt navalem exercitum fortem et magnum⁴ et multis machinis fabricatis, pluribus instrumentis bellicis adaptatis, circa festum beati Petri in magna classium multitudine Iadre applicuerunt. Quam undique impugnantibus machinis et balistis acre certamen eis iugiter inferebant. Fecerunt etiam Iaderenses machinas contra machinas Venetorum habebantque magnas oppugnantium copias Sclavorum et Hungarorum cum quibus, quantum poterant, hostili violentie resistebant. Octo autem sive decem diebus elapsis contigit banum Dyonisium saggitte ictu paululum vulnerari. Hunc rex ad auxilium Iaderensibus miserat, ut esset dux et signifer exercitus

¹ The meaning of *constructis villis et oppidis* is rather unclear; we take it that Thomas wants to say that the Zaratsins played knightly games and imagined that they are attacking villages and towns.

² Thomas is here referring to the peace treaty of 1204. See above, ch. 24, esp. n. 2, p. 150.

³ The Zaratsins rose up against the Venetians in early October 1242, while King Béla was in Klis (CD 4: 162–3).

42 THE SECOND CAPTURE OF ZADAR

At that time the citizens of Zadar, buoyed up by the joy of their successes, began to grow insolent. Spurning the old ways that had allowed them to flourish in the best of states, they were determined to embark upon new and untried ones. So they rose against the lordship of Venice, desiring to throw off their yoke entirely. For although they enjoyed power and richness over all their neighbors on land and sea, they conceived a distaste for pursuing wealth by seaborne trade, and foolishly desired to taste military glory. They took delight in dashing hither and yon in knightly fashion, through made-up villages and towns.¹ So they then broke the terms of their old alliance,² and, ignoring the sanctity of their oath, they revealed themselves openly as enemies of the Venetians.³

The Venetians, however, being shrewd and cautious men, decided to overlook these injuries for the moment and suffer the damages with equanimity. First they transported all the captives and all the money that they had in Zadar to a place of security. Then they slowly assembled a great and strong naval force,⁴ constructed many siege engines, and provided all sorts of instruments of war. Then around the feast of Saint Peter they put in at Zadar with their huge fleet. The Venetians launched a fierce assault from all sides, pounding the city ceaselessly with ballistas and engines of war. The Zaratins, too, prepared engines against the siege engines of the Venetians, and they had a great number of Slavs and Hungarians as an attack force, which they put to use resisting the enemy onslaught however they could. But after some eight or ten days had passed, it chanced that Ban Denys was lightly wounded by an arrow. The king had sent him to help the people of Zadar as leader and standard-bearer of

⁴ According to the chronicle of Andrea Dandolo, the Venetian navy under Zadar consisted of 26 galleys and 20 smaller ships (*Chron.*, p. 353).

militaris. Quo vulnere pavefactus fecit se extra civitatem a militibus deportari. Quo viso Iaderenses timor et ebetudo mentis cecidit super eos putantes banum esse mortuum nec sperabant absque Hungarorum adminiculo posse resistere violentie Vene-torum. Qua de re statim relinquentes pugnam terga vertunt et quicquid poterant de domibus rapientes cucurrerunt ad portam et infringentes ianuas exierunt. Et quia magna erat oppresio multitudinis fugientium, ceperunt alii murum scandere et religatis ad propugnacula funibus dimittebant se certatim ex menibus et abibant. At vero Veneti videntes suos hostes in fugam versos continuo armati de ratibus descendunt et incedentes pedetentim nullamque cedem facientes ex eis permiserunt omnes abire. Et sic tota civitas capta est ferme absque ulla strage alterutrius partis.¹ His breviter prelibatis ad materiam redeamus.

XLIII. DE BELLO, QUOD EMERSIT INTER SPALATENSES ET TRAGURIENSES

Itaque temporibus istis inter Spalatenses et Tragurienses bellum ex ea causa emersit quod Tragurienses occasione cuiusdam privilegii, quod Bela Tragurii positus super quibusdam regalibus terris eis concessit, volebant manus extendere ad quasdam patrimoniales terras Spalatensium, que includebantur intra metas eodem privilegio comprehensas.² Itaque Bernardus potestas armatis lignis a Spalato exivit cepitque ex Traguriensibus quasi homines quinquaginta, quos Spaletum adductos ergastulis mancipavit.

¹ According to Andrea Dandolo (*Chron.*, p. 355), the city was taken on 5 June, while according to Thomas it was after the feast of St. Peter. Whether he is referring to the feast of St. Peter the exorcist, martyr of Diocletian's persecution of 304, which was on 2 June, or to the more famous feast of SS. Peter and Paul (29 June) cannot be ascertained, but it is probable that the former is meant.

the army. He was terrified by his wound and ordered the soldiers to carry him outside the city. When the Zaratins saw this, fear and bewilderment overcame them. They thought that the ban was dead, and they had no confidence that they could resist the Venetian attack any further without the support of the Hungarians. Because of this, they immediately abandoned the fight, and turned to flight. Snatching whatever they could from their homes, they ran to the gate, broke through the doors, and rushed out. And since there was a huge press of people fleeing, some of them began to scale the walls, and tying ropes to the battlements they let themselves down from the town walls with all haste and made off. Now when the Venetians saw their enemy in flight, they at once disembarked their armed men from the ships. They approached the city, advancing little by little, refraining from slaughter and permitting all the Zaratins to escape. And in this manner the whole city was captured almost without any loss of life on either side.¹ Having briefly touched on these events, let us return to our main topic.

43 THE WAR THAT BROKE OUT BETWEEN THE SPALATINS AND THE TRAGURINS

During these times a war broke out between the Spalatins and the Tragurins. The cause of the war was a certain privilege that King Béla, once when he was in Trogir, had granted its citizens regarding some royal fields. Now the Tragurins sought to use this privilege to lay their hands on certain lands, which by heritage belonged to Split but which fell within the borders defined in the same privilege.² So Bernard the *podestà* set out from Split with armed ships, and having seized fifty men from Trogir, who were taken to Split and sold to the workhouses.

² This refers, in fact, to a number of privileges granted to the Tragurins during King Béla's stay in Trogir in 1242 (CD 4: 146–8, 153).

His diebus supervenit quidam relligiosus vir de ordine minorum, nomine Gyrardus, origine Mutinensis,¹ homo valde famosus et magne sanctitatis titulo reverendus, per quem Deus multa dicebatur iam miracula ostendisse. Hic videns inter has civitates crudele odium agitari valde condoluit. Et verens, ne forte instigatione dyabolica intestini et nefarii belli succrescens incendium, inter consanguineos et vicinos sanguinis effusionem induceret, cepit benigna partes allocutione demulcens eas ad concordiam multifarie invitare. Unde factum est, ut ob tanti viri reverentiam utraque civitas de facili ad concordiam declinaret. Resignantes itaque Tragurienses quicquid ex bonis Spalatensium iure privilegii vendicabant suos recepere captivos.

Sed antequam relaxatio ad integrum fieret captivorum, ceperunt Spalatenses penitere crebris mussitationibus ad invicem sussurrantes, quod huiusmodi compositio in derogationem honoris et iuris urgeret civitatis. Quod cum audiret Gyrardus, multum moleste ferebat, nec tamen cessabat obsecrando et monendo eorum animos allicere ad amorem dicens, quod per quam partem pacis huius violabatur bonum, non erit super sed subter. Verum quia iuramenti relligione interveniente compositio extitit celebrata, omnes captivi relaxati sunt et discordie procella parum perquievit.

Sed non quiescebat soccordia popularis, quin pro reformatione concordie obtrectarent maioribus, relligiosos derisionibus et oblocutionibus insectantes. Recedente vero predicto viro sancto modica temporis intercapedine mediante, *vulnus in antiquum rediit male sana cicatrix*.² Nam quibusdam modicis offensionum

¹ Gerard of Modena was a Franciscan, who, together with two other friars, Peter and Andrew, led a peace movement (called "Alleluia") in Lombardy in 1233. Gerard and two of his companions (friars Paul and Andrew) also visited Dalmatia in September 1243 and tried to settle the conflict of Split and Trogir regarding Ostrog (CD 4: 197–9). Thomas is mentioned as a witness of that treaty. For more on Gerard, see Daniel A. Brown, "The Alleluia: a Thirteenth-Century Peace Movement," *Archivum franciscanum historicum* 81 (1988): 3–16, and Augustine Thompson, *Revival Preachers and Politics in Thirteenth Century Italy* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1992).

During these days a certain religious from the Friars Minor arrived, called Gerard, a native of Modena.¹ He was very well known and revered because of his great reputation for sanctity, and God was said to have performed many miracles through him. When he realized what cruel hate was driving these two cities, he felt great sorrow. Fearing that with the devil's instigation this wicked civil war between relatives and neighbors would grow more heated and would lead to bloodshed, he endeavored to placate the two sides with soothing words and to find various ways to bring them to reconciliation. In the end, the two cities were reconciled with ease, thanks to the reverence that all had for the such a man. The Tragurins relinquished all the property of the Spalatins that they had seized by right of the privilege, and they in turn received back their captives.

But before all the captives had been released again, the Spalatins began to have second thoughts. Much whispering and muttering arose among them that such an agreement would amount to loss of the city's honor and rights. Now when Gerard had heard this, he was greatly upset, but he did not cease to plead with them and to urge them to let their souls incline towards love, by saying that the party that broke with the good of this peace would not have the upper hand over the other, but be below it. And because in the meantime the peace contract had been confirmed by oath, all the captives were duly released and the tempest of discord subsided for the moment.

However, there was no abatement to the stupidity of the people, who reproached the elders for the recently concluded treaty and pursued the men of religion with mockery and abuse. Once the holy man had departed and a short space of time had intervened, *the scar that still was barely healed once more became the ancient wound*.² When some minor occasions of offense arose,

² Ovid, *Rem. amoris* 623. Thomas is changing *firma* into *sana*: *Vulnus in anti-guum rediit male firma cicatrix*.

intervenientibus causis, obtectum odium ex fictis cordibus cepit in propatulum ebullire. Natura enim feralis odii solet esse huiusmodi, ut nisi proprio pondere collidatur, nisi dampnis et doloribus atteratur, nesciat habere quietem ad instar maris procellosis fluctibus concitati, quod non prius ad tranquillitatem reducitur, nisi missis desuper imbribus quadam violentia comprimatur. Sed Spalatenses peccatum peccato addentes gravamen sue parti non modicum ex subsequenti facinore induxerunt.

XLIV. DE SEDITIONE, QUE FACTA EST PER LAYCOS IN PROCESSU ELECTIONIS ARCHIEPISCOPI

His namque temporibus predictus Zagrabiensis episcopus missa relatione ad Romanam sedem nitebatur obtinere sue postulationis assensum¹ cum quibusdam conditionibus, quas admittere noluit dominus Innocentius,² nuper ad summe sedis apostolice apicem sublimatus. Quam ob rem dictus episcopus misit Spaletum et renunciavit postulationi de se facte dans licentiam de persona alia providendi.

Aliquantis autem elapsis diebus coadunatum est capitulum et clerus civitatis apud palatium episcopii et facto grandi conventu vocati sunt fratres utriusque ordinis, minorum et predicatorum, et cepit de subrogatione pontificis consuetus haberi tractatus. Affuit potestas cum populo, ultro se ingerentes, non enim extimabant aliquid ratione procedere, si non ipsi suas interponerent partes.³ Itaque a principio propositum est verbum Dei et ceperunt religiosi viri obsecrare et suadere, ut sine seditioso tumultu canonica electio fieret secundum Deum et secundum formam concilii generalis. Allatum est autem volumen in me-

¹ Bishop Stephen of Zagreb is mentioned as the *archielectus Spalatensis* in documents from July 1242 to November 1243 (CD 4: 155, 183, 196, 205); see above, ch. 40.

² Pope Innocent IV (1243–54).

the hidden hate began to seethe forth openly from mendacious hearts. For hatred is of such a dire nature that until it is crushed beneath its own weight, or little by little brought to heel by loss and suffering, it cannot find rest; it is similar to a sea whipped up by the waves of the storm, which cannot be calmed again until a downpour of rain from above represses it with some violence. But the Spalatins, compounding sin with sin, brought no small grief upon themselves by their next act.

44 THE RIOT BY THE LAITY IN THE PROCESS OF ELECTION

At this time the aforementioned bishop of Zagreb sent a report to the See of Rome, seeking approval for his postulation.¹ However, he included certain conditions that Pope Innocent,² who had recently been elevated to the supreme honor of the Holy See, did not see fit to allow. Accordingly the bishop sent word to Split renouncing his postulation and giving permission for another candidate to be sought.

After several days had elapsed, the chapter and the clergy of the city gathered at the episcopal palace. To this general assembly the friars of both the Minor and the Preaching Orders were invited, and they began the customary discussions about the election of a new archbishop. The *podestà* also attended, along with the people, who intruded at their own invitation, for they did not consider that any matter could proceed according to reason if they did not take part.³ And so at the beginning the word of God was set forth, and the men of the church began to beseech and exhort that the election be held canonically without quarrels and disruption, as laid down by God and the practice of the general council. The book was brought out, and that chapter

³ Thomas later states (see below, ch. 45) that this happened on the Thursday after the Epiphany of 1244, which was 7 January 1244.

dium, et perlectum capitulum illud, quod exprimit formas in electionibus observandas. Sed stolidis mentibus ea, que Dei sunt, displicent et ea, que ordinate fiunt, nil habere rationis vel ordinis suspicantur dicentes malum bonum et bonum malum, ponentes tenebras lucem et lucem tenebras reputantes. Hi suas voluntates precipites et obscuras sanctorum constitutionibus preponentes dicebant scripta esse respuenda et solam voluntatem sectandam contra sapientes et bonos verbis procacibus contententes. Et cum non modica fieret perturbatio, surgens Prodanus, qui erat inter presbyteros primus,¹ benigno cepit concilium sermone alloqui monens, quatenus auxilio Sancti Spiritus implorato, universorum in hoc resideret assensus, ut non diversarum sequentes discidia voluntatum, sed sacrorum canonum previo documento ad electionem iuste et canonice celebrandam unanimiter et concorditer procedatur. Et ymno solempni voce ac devoto corde cantato consenserunt omnes, ut electio canonica fieret. Tunc electi sunt tres de senioribus capituli fide digni, quibus dato sacramento commissum est, ut perscrutatis voluntatibus singulorum in scriptis eas redigerent et post hec in conventu omnium publicarent. Sic et factum est. Nam predicti tres cameram ingresi convocaverunt singulatim canonicos, qui erant numero viginti et dantes eis ad sancta Dei evangelia iuramentum iusserunt, ut postponentes eas affectiones, quibus ad veritatem dicendam sepe humanus animus prepeditur, et sine amore et odio vel invidia seu temporali comodo exprimerent, quem magis scirent ydoneum in archiepiscopum assumi et eundem eligerent nominantes. Quod cum factum fuisset, exierunt tres iurati de camera scriptum scrutinii deferentes. Et cum eis iussum fuisset, ut quicquid singuli secreto dixerant, coram omnibus publicarent, aperientes scriptum legerunt in auditu omnium et inventum est, quod omnes pari voto et concordi voce Thomam archidiaconum eligebant exceptis quatuor, quorum

¹ Prodan is mentioned as the junior member of the chapter (*diaconus*) in 1226 (CD 3: 260). He is mentioned in several documents from 1248 and 1251 (CD 4: 347, 453). In 1257 he was the archpriest (CD 5: 58–9). Thomas later calls him *primicerius*.

read that described the forms to be observed in elections. But to obtuse minds those things that are God's find no favor, and that which is done in proper order is supposed to have neither reason nor order; they call evil good and good evil, regarding darkness as light and reckoning light as darkness. These men, setting their own precipitate and unfathomable purposes above the ordinances instituted by holy men, said that the writings should be rejected and their will alone should be followed, disputing with insolent words against wise and good men. And since no little discord was being created, Prodan, who was first in rank among the priests,¹ stood up and began to address the assembly in friendly tones. He advised that after calling on the aid of the Holy Spirit they should all agree on one thing: that rather than following the discordant desires of diverse wills they should be guided by the document containing the sacred canons and proceed unanimously and harmoniously to hold a just and canonical election. So a hymn was sung with solemn voices and devout hearts, and all agreed that the election should be held canonically. Then three trustworthy elder members of the chapter were elected, who took an oath and were entrusted with the task of ascertaining the choice of each individual, setting these things down in writing, and afterwards proclaiming this in the presence of all. And so it was done. The three retired to the chamber and summoned the canons, who were twenty in number, one by one, and had them take an oath on the Holy Gospels. They then bade them first set aside such feelings by which the human heart is often hindered from speaking the truth; then, without love, hate, jealousy, or temporal advantage they were to state whom they held to be most suitable to be elevated to archbishop, and after naming him, to choose him. When this had been done, those three who had taken the oath left the chamber, bearing the record of their investigation. And when they were told to announce before all what each of the canons had said secretly, they opened the document and read it out for all to hear. And it was found that everyone by unanimous vote and of one accord had chosen Thomas the archdea-

unus cum eodem archidiacono Traguriensem episcopum nominavit, reliqui tres neminem eligere voluerunt. Quo facto iterum residentes et ad invicem conferentes omnes sedecim in eundem archidiaconum consenserunt. Sed archidiaconus ipse miratus, quod preter opinionem suam tanti a fratribus habitus erat, ut ipsum tanta dignitate crederent dignum, eis gratias retulit. Nul- lum tamen suscipiendi oneris gerens propositum dixit se elec- tioni nec consentire nec dissentire ad presens.

Tunc quidam layci, quos invidie livor et odii exagitabat insania, hoc audientes exarserunt in iracundiam magnam. Et adeuntes potestatem plurimis eum verborum aculeis stimulantes in- citaverunt dicentes, quod si hoc fieret, tota civitas in seditio- nem comota grande foret periculum incursura. Potestas ergo convocata multitudine populari edictum proposuit, ut nisi cle- rus a sua intentione desisteret, vel si archidiaconus electioni in- sisteret, nullus eis auderet in emptione et venditione participare nec amicitiiis et familiaritatibus adherere. Sed archidiaconus natura lenis et quietus et quem ambitionis aura ad dignitatum desideria modicum inflectebant, non de sue vexationis trista- batur molestia, cum se non gereret pro electo, sed de illorum perversitate dolebat, qui veneno invidie tabescentes decorem matris ecclesie iniurarum nevis inficere satagebant. Ibant per vicos et plateas iracundie facibus inflammati, nil nisi in clericos obloquentes, minarum in eos iacula intentantes, in minores et predicatorum convitia plurima iacientes. Simulabant alii rationes allegare iuris asserentes ex eo electionem constare non posse, quia scrutinium ex solis clericis et non etiam ex laycis extitit celebratum. Alii vero abiecto pudore palam dicebant se invi- dentie saniam, que cordis fibras corrodit acrius, sustinere non

con, with the exception of four of them, one of whom nominated the bishop of Trogir—as did the archdeacon himself—and the three remaining did not wish to choose anyone. Thereupon they again sat down and conferred with one another; then all sixteen agreed upon the archdeacon. The archdeacon himself was astonished that he was held in such regard by his brothers that they believed him worthy of such high office—something that he had never himself had realized—and he expressed his thanks to them. Nevertheless, as he had no intention of assuming the burden, he said that for the present he neither consented to nor refused the election.

At this point certain laymen, hearing of this, and incited by the malice of envy and the madness of hatred, broke out into a great rage; going to the *podestà*, they goaded and incited him with endless barbed remarks, saying that if this came to pass, the entire populace would rise in revolt and the city would then be in great danger. Thereupon, the *podestà* called a general meeting of the populace and issued an edict stating that if the clergy did not desist from its intention or if the archdeacon insisted on his election, no one would buy anything from them or sell anything to them, nor maintain friendship or any close relations with them. But the archdeacon was a mild and quiet man by nature and little moved by ambition to desire high office. He was saddened not by his own trouble or distress, for he did not think of himself as the future bishop, but rather he grieved over the perversity of those who were so consumed by the poison of ill will that they were prepared to inflict such ugly injuries upon the beauty of the mother church. For they were coursing the streets and squares inflamed with anger, speaking nothing but ill of the clergy, hurling threats at them, and crying reproaches against the Franciscans and Dominicans in particular. Some pretended to object on grounds of legality, asserting that the election could not stand because the voting had been conducted by the clergy alone and not by the laity as well. Others, casting aside all shame, declared openly that the poison of

posse. Inde vero archidiaconum turbulentis animis adeuntes, cum ei, quid obicerent, non haberent, rogabant alii, alii minitantes bona diripere, domum diruere insistebant violenter, ut ab electione cessaret. Et cum prope esset, ut vim facerent, tractus in medium furentis multitudinis archidiaconus yronice resignare se dixit. Quamvis enim videret quosdam clericos timoris pondere vacillantes, non tamen desistebat archidiaconus, quominus vigorem ecclesiasticum manutenens, aperte et intrepide protestaretur nichil de electionibus ad laycos pertinere. Volebat autem electionem aliam per clericos dumtaxat fieri, ut sanctorum precipiunt instituta.

Erant autem in presbyteris seniores: astutus primicerius Prodanus, nepos quondam Gruptii archidiaconi et Nicolaus sacrista.¹ In levitis vero erat Martinus, Vitus,² nepos olim Andree precentoris³ et Radosius, cognomento Daniel, qui tiranicam potestatis rabiem parvi pendens, furorem quoque minacis plebecule despiciens pro honore ac statu ecclesiastici iuris libere satis et intrepide contendebat. At vero impie factionis dux et signifer erat quidam presbyter, nomine Fuscus, qui vere moribus niger⁴ totius modestie virtute carebat. Hic quibusdam factis complicitibus sociatus, qui rebus erant hostes honestis, non cessabat circuendo per civitatem subvertere hominum mentes sussurando ad aures, conventicula de sanguinibus congregando. Plus morte timebant, ne is, qui eadem erat patria oriundus cum eis se yma tenentibus, ad tante conscenderet fastigium dignitatis. Postquam ergo furor cecus sue vesanie optinuisse arbitra-

¹ Nicholas is mentioned as the sacristan in several documents from 1243 to 1251 (CD 4: 184, 428, 449).

² Deacon Guy is mentioned in a document of 1251 (CD 4: 446).

³ The precentor was the canon who acted as director of chant-schools, starting liturgical songs and intoning the melody before that.

envy gnawing at the fibers of their hearts was simply too painful to bear. Finally they went to the archdeacon in their state of agitation; not having anything with which to reproach him, some asked him, and others violently insisted, threatening to seize his goods and destroy his house, that he withdraw from the election. And since they were on the point of doing something violent, the archdeacon, who had been dragged into the middle of a raging furious crowd, said ironically that he would resign. Yet even though he could see that certain of the clergy were wavering from fear, nevertheless the archdeacon, protecting the interests of the church, continued to protest openly and undauntedly that laymen had no say in church elections. For he hoped at least that another election would be held by the clergy only, as the sacred laws commanded.

Now among the senior priests were the *primicerius* Prodan, a clever man and nephew of the former archdeacon Grubče, and Nicholas the sacristan,¹ while the canons included Martin, Guy² the nephew of the late precentor³ Andrew, and Radoš named Daniel. Paying scant heed to the tyrannical rage of the *podestà* and treating the rabble's frenzied threats with scorn, Daniel struggled fearlessly and openly to uphold the honor and of the rights of the church. But the leader and standard-bearer of the faction of the ungodly was a priest named Fuscus, a person truly black in character⁴ and completely lacking the virtue of restraint. Accompanied by some empty-headed accomplices who were enemies of all decency, Fuscus went about the city ceaselessly subverting men's minds, whispering in their ears, assembling groups based on family feuds. They feared more than death itself that a man born of the same homeland as them should rise to the pinnacle of such high office while they themselves held a lowly position. Therefore, when in blind and mindless fury they believed that they had achieved their goal, lest

⁴ The author plays on the literal meaning of the name Fuscus, 'dark', 'black'. This man is apparently identical with that Fuscus who was a junior member of the chapter (deacon) in 1229 (CD 3: 316).

batur effectum, ne qua prioris electionis archidiacono restaret fiducia, convenerunt omnes ad ecclesiam et capitulum importunis clamoribus infestantes, non sinebant celebrari divina nec sumi corporis alimenta, instantes et garrientes, ut incontinenti secum electionem de altero celebrarent. Veritus autem archidiaconus, ne odiorum proterva temeritas eorum stultitie relaxarent habenas, ut obstinate mentis homines in desperationis baratrum precipitados, ad aliquod sevim facinus impelleret perpetrandum, dimisit ergo eos secundum desideria cordis eorum et abierunt in voluntatibus suis. Unde factum est, ut denominationi de Treguano Traguriensi episcopo facte preberent assensum, non quod eum optarent in archiepiscopum prefici, cum ipsum et omnes Tragurienses pro hostibus reputarent, sed ut archidiaconus ab omni electionis iure prorsus videretur exclusus et se gauderent de clericis triumphasse.

Verum quam grave sit statum matris ecclesie iniustis facinoribus conculcare, pena evidenter docuit e vestigio subsecuta.

XLV. DE BELLO, QUOD PREPARAVERUNT SPALATENSES CONTRA TRAGURIENSES

His ita gestis Bernardus potestas in perniciem Traguriensium cepit fabricare machinas magnasque belli copias preparare. At vero Tragurienses scientes se impares esse potentia nec sperantes se posse resistere violentie vicinorum ceperunt magno pavore dissolvi. Tunc legationem mittentes verbis valde lenibus et submissis pacem postulabant, satisfactionem omnimodam pollicentes. Sed potestas, ut erat ferocis animi, auditis humilitatis sermonibus in tumorem superbie maxime levabatur et consiliis quorundam iuvenum usus nolebat declinare ad mitia, sed ingentia minabatur.

any confidence remain in the archdeacon regarding his former election, they all assembled at the church and chapter, shouting at them without restraint, and would not permit the celebration of divine service or the sacraments of the mass, insisting and idly saying that they would join with them in electing a different person. The archdeacon, fearing lest their wanton recklessness and stupidity would set hatred loose, and drive persons whose obstinate minds were hastening them to the brink of desperate action to commit some serious crime, dismissed them after agreeing to what their hearts desired, and they departed having attained what they wanted. So it came about that the nomination of Treguanus, the bishop of Trogir, was confirmed. This was not because they wished him personally to be made archbishop; for he was from Trogir, and all the citizens of that city were regarded by them as enemies. It was only so that it should be quite clear that the archdeacon had been excluded from any right of election, and that they might have the joy of having triumphed over the clergy.

But the grave consequences of these wicked acts that trampled on the rightful state of the mother church were clearly shown by the punishment that shortly followed.

45 THE WAR THAT THE SPALATINS PREPARED AGAINST THE TRAGURINS

Following these events, Bernard the *podestà* began to plot the downfall of Trogir and to prepare large forces for war. The Tragurins, who knew that their power was unequal and that they had no hope of being able to resist the violence of their neighbors, then became greatly frightened. So they sent a legation and begged for peace with mild and submissive words, promising them whatever satisfaction they wished. The *podestà*, however, who was of a violent nature, became extremely swollen with pride when he listened to their words of humility. Following the counsel of certain young men, he was not moved to friendship, but issued severe threats against them.

Unde factum est, ut Spalatenses, preparata expeditione, exirent in multitudine classium, quas habebant, et venerunt adnavigantes insule versus Tragurium,¹ non quidem pugnandi proposito, sed facta ostentatione animos hostium deterrere volebant. Sed Tragurini visa parte Spalatini exercitus, metu, quem habebant, paulatim exsufflato, ceperunt animis incalescere arbitantes pulcrius mori per vulnera quam vite ignominiam sustinere. Et nullo premissio deliberationis tractatu subito ad mare concurrunt, ligna remigibus complent, armis exornant. Erat autem ibi quedam trieris magna et excelsa, quam rex Bela discedens eis reliquerat conservandam, quam pubes selecta stipendiariorum ac civium conscendens in mare procedunt. Armarunt et duas liburnas cum aliquot paucis et brevibus lignis. Et erat eis auxilio lignum quoddam magnum ex bonis iuvenibus stipendiariis, ex profugis Iaderensium. Omnes hii exeuntes a portu ad spatium unius milii remigarunt. Et videntes numerosam classem expeditionis Spalatine sparsim litora insule perstringentem timuerunt. Et versis ad civitatem proris cursu retrogrado fugiendo redibant. At vero Spalatenses preter opinionem suam videntes eos in mare exisse, gavisi sunt valde. Et putantes eos, si attingi possent, nulla evadere ratione, fortiori annisu incubuere remis et totis viribus remigantes conabantur, antequam ad sua evaderent, eos iaculis prepedire. Et ecce, dum Tragurienses evadere moliuntur, magna eorum trieris in vadosa incidens loca hesit terre stetitque fixa immobilis. Turbati ergo et perteriti Tragurienses nesciebant, quo divertere possent. Et tandem resumpto constantie spiritu cohortati sunt semet ipsos et connectentes ambas liburnas a latere herentis galee ceperunt stare parati, insultum hostium expectantes. Ecce autem Bernardus maiori ligno invecus, ut erat impetuosus et preceps in arma, noluit socios prestolari, sed irruit repente in hostes et intentis arcubus

¹ That is, Čiovo.

And so it came to pass that the Spalatins prepared an expedition, and, sailing out with the large number of ships that they had, they came to the island that lies opposite Trogir.¹ In fact, they were not intending to fight, but wished to make a show and to intimidate the enemy. The Tragurins, having seen a part of the Spalatin army, gradually overcame their earlier fear. Their courage grew, and they decided that it was better to die honestly of battle wounds than to live a life of shame. So without any previous discussion they ran at once to the sea, manned their ships with oarsmen, and equipped them with weapons. By the shore was a certain large and lofty trireme that King Béla on his departure had left with them to keep for him. Onto this a select company of young men boarded, partly mercenaries, partly citizens, and they set out to sea. They also armed two longships, plus a few smaller ships. And to help them there was also a large ship with skilled young mercenaries, fugitives from Zadar. All these set out from the harbor and rowed out to sea for about a mile. But when they saw the numerous navy of the Spalatin expedition sailing all along the shores of the island, they were overcome by fear, and turning the prows to the city they began to row back in flight. The Spalatins, for their part, were greatly delighted when they saw that the Tragurins had taken to the sea, contrary to their expectations. They plied their oars with renewed effort, thinking that if they could overtake them then the Tragurins would have no escape. So they rowed with all their might, endeavoring to overwhelm them with missiles before they could reach the safety of their own shore. All of a sudden, as the Tragurins hastened to escape, their great trireme drifted into shallow waters, ran aground, and refused to move. Confused and frightened, the Tragurins had no idea where to turn. But finally their resolve returned. They urged each other on, and tying the two longships to either side of the grounded galley, they stood in readiness to meet the attack of the enemy. Now Bernard was sailing on the larger ship, and being hot-headed and quick to join battle, he would not wait for his companions, but fell upon the enemy immediately. Plying their

ceperunt sagittis insistere, pilis et contis acriter imminere. E contra vero Tragurienses de puppi sue trieris eminentius impendentes, quasi ex arce, non cessabant lapides super lapides in hostile agmen immittere et crebra iacula contorquere. Sed Spalatenses nullum lapidem intra sua ligna posuerant sed lapidum grandinem scutis excipientes instabant fortiter e puppi-bus gladiis et lanceis preliantes. Et cum tanta fortitudine res ageretur, cadebant hinc et inde quidam vulnere, quidam morte prostrati.

Heu dirum et nefarium bellum, ubi sprete lege nature pater in filium et filius in patrem armabatur, frater in fratrem, amicus in amicum scelestis manibus crassabatur! Non illud erat hostile sed domesticum et civile certamen.

Ubi autem pars magna diei armorum stridoribus et contrariis congressionibus fuisset expensa, eventus victoriae hinc inde dubius oberrabat. Sed eo iam certamen erat deductum, ut Spalatensium prevalentibus turmis excussa esset pugnantium aties de puppi hostilis galee et usque ad medium depulsa. Et cum prope iam esset, ut Spalatina iuventus insiliret ad eos, ecce una ex liburnis Spalatensium, in qua melior pugnantium erat manus, fortiter remis impulsa percussit unam ex liburnis Traguriensium, que religata erat a latere maioris galee venitque rostrum per mediam ratem inter remos. Tum hi, qui erant in Traguriensium ligno, insultu hostium tremefacti ascenderunt ad galee presidium et lignum, cui insederant, sublevatum est rostrumque Spalatine liburne ita tenaciter hesit tamque fortiter stetit ac si clavis ferreis fuisset afixum. Cumque multo conatu temptaretur avelli, nil profuit, sed sic non homine, sed Deo capta permansit. Hostes vero desuper imminentes non desistebant homines

bows, they pressed them fiercely with arrows, javelins and lances. For their part, the Tragurins, looking down from the lofty stern of their trireme as from a citadel, rained ceaseless volleys of stones and constant spears against the enemy ranks. Unfortunately, the Spalatins had not taken any stones with them on the ships. They did their best to ward off the hail of stones with their shields, and resolutely pressed the attack from the stern of their ships, battling with swords and lances. Since the battle was so hotly fought, losses were inflicted on both sides, some falling from wounds, some killed outright.

How cruel wicked and terrible war is, when the law of nature is spurned and father is armed against son, son against father, brother against brother, and friend turns wicked hands against friend. This was no war against a foreign enemy, but an internal conflict among fellow citizens.

When the greater part of the day had passed in clash of arms and clashes between adversaries, the outcome still wavered and victory was uncertain either way. But the combat had reached a point where the Spalatin forces had gained the upper hand and had driven off the group fighting from the quarterdeck of the enemy galley and had forced them to the middle. And when the young men from Split seemed to be on the point of jumping aboard, suddenly one of the Spalatin longships, with one of the better contingents of the troops, rowed vigorously towards one of the longships from Trogir, which was bound to the side of the larger galley. It struck the side, and the prow passed between the oars through the middle of the ship. Then those who were on this ship, unnerved by the enemy assault, ascended to the shelter of the galley. Thereupon the ship on which they had been staying rose up; but the prow of the Spalatin longship was stuck tight and held as firmly as if it had been fixed by iron nails. They made every effort to free it, but it was of no use; it remained as it was, caught not by man but by God. Meanwhile, the enemy did not cease to rain down stones on them

obruere lapidibus, prosternere iaculis, donec insilientes in eam totalem ex ipsa victoriam optinerent. Interim autem mare ad incrementum suo more surgens fecit enatare trierim et prospero aquarum cursu cum insperate prede tripudio ad propria devecti sunt. Sed cum Spalatensium classis iterum vellent prelium victoribus instaurare, ingruentibus iam nocturnis tenebris intercepta, tristis et merens ab hoste discessit. Capta est tunc Spalatensium ratis et LX fere de melioribus civitatis et omnes artis compedibus astricti carceris sunt custodia mancipati.

Ecce, quomodo factorum series non opinione humana sed divina dispositione procedat, ut de sua virtute confisi bello succumberent et de suis viribus desperantes ex hostibus triumpharent. Quia non in multitudine exercitus victoria belli, sed de celo est fortitudo. Discant posterī, quam durum sit contra stimulum calcitrare!¹ Cum hi, qui nuper conculcando statuta ecclesie quasi victores de imbellibus clericis exultabant, nunc a despectis hostibus devicti probroso carcere penas luunt. *Nichil* enim, ut ait Scriptura, *in terra sine causa fit*.² Sic namque succedentibus rebus completum videtur, quod in persona ecclesie dicitur per prophetam: *Misit de celo et liberavit me, dedit in opprobrium conculcantes me*.³

Quid vero de aliis male gestis referam bellis? Cum propter ipsius potestatis insolentem temeritatem, immo propter peccata civium, quot capti, quot gladiis trucidati, quot equore submersi tunc fuerint cives, flere magis libet, quam aliquid dicere. Etenim cum quibusdam Sclavis confederati Tragurienses nunc clam, nunc palam nostratibus offendentes, cedes et pre-

¹ Cf. Acts 26: 14.

² Job 5: 6.

³ Ps. 56: 4 (57: 3).

from above, or to strike them down with spears, until finally they could jump aboard their ship and achieve full victory. In the meantime, the level of the sea was rising in its normal way, and caused the trireme to float free. With the flow of the tide streaming in a favorable direction they were carried back home, to their delight, with the unexpected prize of a captured ship. When the Spalatin fleet attempted to resume battle with the winners, the approach of darkness and night prevented them. So they broke off the engagement, sadly and regretfully. As a result, the Spalatin ship and almost sixty people from the best of the city were captured, and all of them were put into prison and tightly shackled.

Behold how the course of fortune proceeds not according to human opinion but according to the will of God! Those who trusted their own valor were defeated by war, and those who had despaired of their powers triumphed over their enemies. For victory in war depends not on the size of the army, but on might coming from heaven. Let future generations learn how *hard* it is to kick against the pricks.¹ For those who had recently trampled on the statues of the church, and exalted as if in victory over unarmed clerics, were now defeated by an enemy whom they despised, and paid the penalty in ignominious prisons. As Scripture says, *nothing on earth happens without reason*.² Successive events seem to have fulfilled what was told in the person of the church by the prophet: *He shall send from heaven, and save me from the reproach of him that would swallow me up*.³

And what should I say about other ill-fated wars? Because of the insolent audacity of the *podestà*, or rather because of the sins of the citizens, how many were taken prisoner, how many perished by the sword, how many drowned in the sea!—I feel more like weeping than saying anything. For the Tragurins allied themselves with certain Slavs, and when they came across our people, they now secretly, now openly killed countless of them and plundered at large, and in whatever direction they

das plurimas faciebant et quorsum se terra marique vertebant, letis successibus exultabant. E contrario Spalatensibus cuncta cedendo sinistre de die in diem ad deteriora vergebant. Nam quasi miraculose gestum est, ut recte tricesimo die, quo ecclesie iura perturbare temere presumpserunt, in illo nautico bello succumberent. Et cum die Iovis post Epifaniam¹ temeratus ab eis fuerit status privilegii clericalis, die Iovis in carniprivo,² die Iovis in Albis Pascalibus,³ die Iovis in octavis Pentecostes,⁴ pessimos belli eventus et infelices casus personarum et rerum passi sunt. Et quorum antecessores nudis pedibus a Spalatensibus pacis federa olim rogaverant plurima servitia et honoris obsequia tamquam maioribus impendentes, nunc vice versa cives nostri, dati eis in predam, eorum pacem coacti sunt exoptare.⁵ Sic ergo completum est in eis illud prophete Zacharie oraculum, ubi de clericis dicitur: *Qui tangit vos, tangit pupillam oculi mei*. Et post hec, quasi quereretur, quo genere vindicte tales sunt puniendi, subiungit dicens: *Extendam manum meam super eos et erunt in predam his, qui serviebant sibi*.⁶ Cesset ergo gloriari vanitas humana, cum in rebus bellicis sola virtus operetur divina dicente domino per prophetam: *Numquid gloriabitur securis adversus eum, qui secatur in ea?*⁷ Et cetera. Unde enim eventus ille inopinabilis, nisi Deo disponente processit, ut in illo certamine cum piratis nuper gesto, quod nulli pene placuit, leta successit victoria et in hoc, quod nulli pene displicuit, tristis casus evenit?

His itaque gestis potestas ad propria recessurus ad ecclesiam accessit et seditionis scandalum, quod in electionis processu

¹ See above, n. 3, p. 323.

² The Thursday after Carnival, that is, the second day of Lent, was on 18 February.

³ 7 April.

⁴ 26 May.

⁵ The historical event to which Thomas is referring here is not clear. The armed conflicts between Split and Trogir were relatively frequent, but none of those recorded ended with an effect so disastrous for the Tragurins as implied by Thomas.

turned on land or sea, they triumphed in joyful victories. For the Spalatins, on the other hand, everything turned out badly, and day by day things went from worse to worse. It also seems almost miraculous that exactly thirty days after they had rashly and presumptuously confounded the rights of the church, they were defeated in that naval combat. And as they violated the rights of clerical privilege on the Thursday after Epiphany,¹ so they suffered the worst outcomes in war and the greatest losses of lives and property on the Thursday after Carnival,² the Thursday of Easter³ and the Thursday of the octaves of Pentecost.⁴ And to those whose predecessors had once begged for peace barefooted from the Spalatins and rendered them services and tokens of honor as if to superiors, now by a reversal of fortune our citizens were given as plunder, being forced to sue with them for peace.⁵ And so the oracle of the prophet Zechariah was fulfilled when he spoke of the clergy: *For he that had touched you toucheth the apple of my eye*, and after that, as if in answer to the question, by what manner of punishment shall such people be punished, he adds: *I will spread my hand over them, and they shall be a spoil to their servants*.⁶ So let human vanity cease to glory, for in military affairs the only virtue at work is God's. As the Lord says through His prophet: *Shall the axe boast itself against him that heweth therewith?*⁷ And so on. How could this unexpected event have come about other than by divine will, that the war that was shortly before waged with the pirates, of which hardly anybody approved, resulted in a joyful victory, while this contest, which was approved by practically everybody, had a tragic outcome?

After all these events the *podestà* visited the church on his way back home, and he humbly confessed to the scandal of the riot

⁶ Cf. Zech. 2: 8–9.

⁷ Isa. 10: 15.

per pravos homines nasci permiserat, humiliter est confessus et veniam postulavit. Hoc idem confessus est in plena contione publici palatii asserens, quod capituli factum fuisset legitimum, sed prava et perversa importunitas laycorum.

Tunc Spalatenses de suis viribus diffidentes, de Ninosclavi bani Bosenensis¹ potentia plurimum sunt confisi. Quem advocantes et sumptus ei ex publico ministrantes etiam civitati in comitem prefecerunt. Ipse autem veniens multis et fortibus constipatus viris abiit cum Spalatensibus ad campum Traguriensem, ubi per duas fere ebdomadas considentes succiderunt vineas, secuerunt arbores omnia sata et culta vastantes.

Inde vero recedens abiit in terram suam tradita sui regiminis vice cuidam cognato suo, nomine Ricardo, qui erat Calaber natione. Reliquit etiam pro civitatis tutela unum de filiis suis cum optima equitum turma.

Sed Tragurienses obduratis animis noluerunt relaxare captivos, sed missa legatione ad regem² narraverunt ei cuncta, que facta fuerant per banum cum Spalatensibus in campo eorum. Rex vero his auditis iratus est valde statimque vocans quendam ducem suum, nomine Dionisium,³ virum potentem, qui erat banus totius Slavonie et Dalmatie, misit eum cum B[artholomeo] Quinqueecclesiensi episcopo⁴ et cum quodam comite Michael⁵ et cum multis aliis Hungarie proceribus imperans eis districte, quatenus in Dalmatiam venientes, quantumcumque possent, rigidam de Spalatensibus exercerent vindictam. Alium exercitum misit ad ulciscendum bani Bosenensis ob temeraria facta.

¹ Ban Matthew Ninoslav of Bosnia (1235–50) is mentioned as the count of Split in a document of 1244 (*Serie* 8: 98–100). He is mentioned for the last time in January 1245, although at that time he was *de facto* already deposed (Lucius, *Legacy*, fasc. 528, fol. 48).

² At that time King Béla IV was in Slavonia, which is evident from the fact that he issued charters in Virovitica in May (CD 4: 227–8) and in Glaz in June (CD 4: 229–34).

that he had allowed wicked men to stir up during the process of the election, and asked for pardon. He confessed to the same in front of a full gathering at the public palace, confessing that what the chapter had done was legitimate, and that the laymen's demands had been wrong and wicked.

At this point the Spalatins, having little faith in their own strength, put all their trust in the power of Ninoslav, the ban of Bosnia.¹ They summoned him, supplied his costs at public expense, and even appointed him count over the city. He came with a large company of strong men, and then set off with the Spalatins for the territory of Trogir. There they remained for nearly two weeks, during which time they cut down vineyards, felled trees, and ravaged everything growing or cultivated.

When he had returned from there, he departed for his own land, after handing over his command to a relative of his by the name of Richard, a native of Calabria. He even left one of his sons with an excellent squadron of cavalry for the defense of the city.

But the Tragurins remained stubborn of heart and would not release the captives. Rather, they sent an embassy to the king² relating to him the whole story of what had been done in their lands by the ban in company with the Spalatins. The king was extremely angry when he heard all this. He immediately summoned a duke of his by the name of Denys,³ a powerful man who was ban of all Slavonia and Dalmatia, and sent him together with Bartholomew the bishop of the church of Pécs,⁴ a certain Count Michael⁵ and many other leading men of Hungary, commanding them strictly that on coming to Dalmatia they should exact harsh retribution on the Spalatins, using all means possible. He also sent another army to avenge the reckless acts of the ban of Bosnia.

³ See above, n. 7, p. 293.

⁴ See above, n. 2, p. 292.

⁵ Michael was *comes* of Varaždin County in Slavonia (CD 4: 235, 245–7, 367).

Spalatenses etiam miserunt legatos ad regem excusantes se et factum, quanta verborum lepiditate poterant, palliantes. Sed rex dolorem sui cordis callida responsione dissimulans finxit se non multum curare de talibus, remisit eos ad propria. Et quia ecclesia pastore vacabat, petiit, ut eligeretur Hugrinus Cesmen-sis prepositus in archiepiscopum ecclesie Spalatensis asserens, quod propter ipsius nobilitatem et scientiam tota florebit eccle-sia et civitas eius suffulta consiliis de multis anxietatibus indu-bitatum consequeretur solamen.

Reversi nuntii responsa regis cum gaudio retulerunt, nullum ta-men super facto huiusmodi regale tulerunt rescriptum. Cives vero hec audientes et credentes omnia veritate constare, sta-tim ad archidiaconum et capitulum accesserunt et imperantes potius quam consulentes petebant, ut incontinenti celebrare-tur electio cum eisdem. Archidiaconus vero, quia non ignota sibi erat insolentia Hugrini, non acquiescebat laycali instantie dicens, quod electio non est celebranda precipitanter et cum secularium tumultu, sed matura deliberatione fratrum et rel-igiosorum virorum. Sed layci suo more in iurgia prorumpen-tes conabantur hec a clericis per violentiam extorquere. Verum dimisso conventu comes Ricardus, Murgia iudex¹ et ceteri de consilio abeuntes ad cameram ecclesie per vim acceperunt bul-lam capituli, connivente eis Fusco presbytero cum tribus aut quatuor nequitie sotiis et asportantes eam conscripserunt lit-teras sub nomine capituli, bullantes eas falso miserunt duos ex nobilibus, qui se procuratores capituli asserentes electionem ad regis libitum celebrarent. Sicque factum est. Abierunt ad regem nuntii false legationis prosequentes mandatum. Et quia tunc erat rex in partibus Sclavonie, cito reversi sunt dicentes elec-

¹ See above, n. 1, p. 200.

Now the Spalatins, too, sent envoys to the king, offering excuses and extenuating what had been done with the finest words they could. But the king disguised the anger in his heart. He cleverly framed his reply, affecting not to make much of such things, and sent them back to their own land. But he asked, since their church lacked a pastor, that Ugrinus, the provost of Čazma, be elected as archbishop of the church of Split. He asserted that the whole church would flourish on account of Ugrinus' nobility and learning, and that bolstered by his counsel the city would doubtless attain relief from its many woes.

The returning envoys joyfully brought back the king's response; however, they bore no royal rescript regarding the matter. The citizens, hearing these things and believing that everything was in accord with the truth, came immediately to the archdeacon and the chapter, and asked—although more as an order than seeking counsel—that the election be celebrated immediately in their presence. The archdeacon, to whom the insolence of Ugrinus was not unknown, would not give in to the demands of the laity. He affirmed that an election is not something to be conducted hurriedly amidst loud demonstrations by secular persons, but rather with the mature deliberation of the brothers and religious men. The laity, bursting into railing as is their wont, tried to extort compliance by violence from the clergy. However, Count Richard, Judge Murgia¹ and others of the council, after disbanding the assembly, withdrew to the church chambers, where with the connivance of Fuscus the priest and three or four accomplices in evil they forcibly took possession of the seal of the chapter and carried it off. They then drew up letters in the name of the chapter, which they sealed fraudulently, and sent two of the leading citizens to present themselves as proctors of the chapter and to conduct the election according to the king's pleasure. And so it was done. Envoys went off to the king to carry out the commission of the false legation. And since the king was then in Slavonia, they soon

tionem se de Hugrino fecisse et regem civitati esse placatum et magnam ab eo gratiam fore civibus repromissam.

Sed vulgo dicitur mendatium curtos habere pedes, parum potest procedere, cito deprehenditur. Non enim bono peraguntur exitu, que malo sunt principio inchoata. Nam qui regem placatum dixerant, verius dicere poterant regem regum Deum ausibus fore talibus ad iracundiam provocatum. Qui enim gratiam se iactabant civibus detulisse, dirum magis incendium et excidium fere toti patrie detulerunt.

Etenim non duabus ex integro elapsis ebdomadibus descendit dux Dionisius cum principibus supradictis et coadunato exercitu copioso Hungarorum, Dalmatinorum et Sclavorum venit et castrametatus est in Salona. Tunc Spalatenses accedentes ad eos multis exeniis et blandis alloquiis eorum demulcere pectora satagebant. Sed ipsi regium exequentes edictum non rectis oculis aspiciebant cives, sed aspera cominantes petebant obsides et magnum pecunie quantitatem. Sed cum grave videretur civibus a statu sue cadere libertatis, allegabant privilegia, quibus eorum civitas a tali exactione debebat esse libera et immunis.¹ Ceterum ipsi privilegiorum lege contempta ad exhibitionem dictarum rerum tota cives instantia perurgebant. Verum cum Spalatenses omnino facere denegarent, comovit se universus exercitus et prope civitatem accessit. Anno Domini millesimo CCXLIII, quarto Idus Iulii² factum est ingens prelium in suburbio Spalatino. Totus namque exercitus, per aties ordinatus, cepit circa maceriam³ preliari. Diviserunt autem se Hungari per cuneos et steterunt cum bano procul, episcopus cum atie sua, Philetus prepositus⁴ cum sua, Tragurienses cum sua, castellanus et

¹ See above, n. 1, p. 96.

² 12 July 1244.

³ The suburb of Split was fortified only with earthworks, while the city used as its walls the walls of the former palace of Diocletian. The suburb would also be fortified by proper walls only in the second half of the thirteenth century. It is mentioned as already existing in the City Statute of 1312 (lib. 5, cap. 10).

returned saying that they had had Ugrinus elected, and that the king was at peace with the city and in return great favor was promised to the citizens.

But a common saying goes thus: "A lie has short feet, it cannot move far, and it is quick to be caught"; for things never come to a good end that have an evil beginning. For they who maintained that the king was appeased might more truly have noted that the Lord and King of Kings is commonly provoked to anger by such acts of audacity. For those who boasted that they had brought the king's favor to the citizens in fact brought terrible conflagration and calamity to almost all their homeland.

Indeed, not fully two weeks had elapsed before Duke Denys descended in company with the aforementioned leaders, and having gathered together a large army of Hungarians, Dalmatians and Slavs he came and set up camp at Solin. The Spalatins approached them and did their best to soften their hearts with many gifts and pleasing words. But acting on royal instructions they would not treat the citizens fairly, but uttered harsh threats, demanding hostages and a large amount of money. But loss of their free status seemed to the citizens difficult to endure, and they cited privileges that assured their city of freedom and exemption from such exactions.¹ But for their part the leaders scorned the legality of privileges, and they most forcefully pressed the citizens to produce what had been specified. When the Spalatins refused outright to do so, the entire army was set in motion and drew up before the city. In the year of our Lord 1244, on the fourth day before the Ides of July² a great battle took place in the suburb of Split, and the entire army arrayed in battle order began the fight around the earthworks.³ The Hungarians divided themselves into companies and stood at a distance with the ban, the bishop with his line, the provost Philetus⁴ with his, the Tragurins with theirs, the castellan

⁴ Philetus was the provost of Záhgráb/Zagreb. He is frequently mentioned in other documents from 1236 to 1248 (CD 4: 20, 41, 42, 74, 104 *et passim*).

Clisienses cum sua et alii plures. Tunc appropinquant macerie querebant aditum, unde intrandi facultatem haberent. Sed Spalatenses undique circumfusi hostilem impetum iaculis et lapidibus longius propellebant. At vero Tragurienses, qui erant gnari locorum, circueuntes ex occidentali parte ascenderunt ad pedem montis¹ et ceperunt in ea parte committere prelium macerie, que secundum loci situm invalidior erat et pauciores oppugnatores habebat. Tunc stantes ex adverso macerie excelsores fuerunt his, qui maceriam defendebant et lapidum multitudinem proicientes in eos compulerunt interius ad planum descendere. Et quia concives non audebant alia loca deserere, per que fuerant ordinati, non potuerunt illis prestare succursum. Mox ergo Tragurini maceriam conscendentes ceperunt instare acriter his, qui iam inferius stantes non sinebant eos descendere et ulterius pertransire. Sed cum multitudo magna confuso ordine et cum impetu ascedisset, statim maceria sub eorum pedibus diruta est et in planum redacta. Videns autem universus exercitus, quod via esset latius patefacta, catervatim omnes ad loci illius aditum confluerunt et in suburbium irruentes usque ad muratas edes cum civibus manu ad manum pugnando venerunt. Cesi autem fuerunt ex Spalatensibus usque ad X viros, de Hungaris vero et Sclavis mactati fuerunt ferme homines triginta. Sic autem, quoniam debile fuit macerie munimentum, non potuit tante multitudini obsistere peccato civium pregravante. Tunc introgressi hostes statim apposuerunt ignem ex parte occidentali et zephyri aura perstrepenste asperius omnes domos ligneas et vimineas brevi spatio combusserunt ventoque flammaram globos violentius deprimente aduste sunt domus lapidee quasi XX. Et ita die illo quingente et eo amplius edes intra septa macerie conflagrarunt. Videntes autem cives virtutem ignis vehementius excrescere flamarumque copiam de domo in domum vorando transire ingenti sunt pavore perculsi metuen-

¹ That is, the Marjan Hill.

of Klis with his, and many others. Then as they came close to the earthworks they sought a means of approach whereby they might gain entry. But the people of Split were positioned everywhere, and with spears and stones they drove the enemy assault a long way back. However, the Tragurins, who were familiar with the area, went around to the western side, climbed to the foot of the hill,¹ and began to attack the earthworks from that side where owing to the nature of the ground it was weaker and had fewer defenders. Now when they stood facing the wall they were higher than those defending it. So they launched a great volley of stones against them, forcing them to withdraw to the level ground further in. And since their fellow citizens did not dare to leave the other positions that they had been assigned to defend, they were unable to come to their aid. So the Tragurins were soon able to scale the wall and began to press them hard; yet the Spalatins, even though they were now in a lower position, would not suffer them to come down or advance further. However, a great multitude in confused order and with much energy had by now climbed the wall, which suddenly collapsed beneath their feet and fell flat. Then when the whole army saw that a wide entrance now lay open, they converged in a body to the opening there. Pouring into the suburbs, they advanced as far as the walled houses, fighting with the citizens hand to hand. Ten of the Spalatins lost their lives, while some thirty of the Hungarians and Slavs were killed. Thus the earthworks, being made of weak material, proved no obstacle to the great multitude. The sins of the citizens worsened the situation, too. The enemy, having gained entry, at once set fire to the western area. As a brisk westerly breeze was blowing, all the homes of wood or wattle were soon consumed, and as the force of the wind drove the rolling flames onwards, even some twenty houses of stone suffered damage from the fire. So fifty or more houses within the bounds of the earthworks burnt down on that day. As they observed the strength of the fire growing in intensity and the body of flame leaping from house to house and consuming them, the citizens were terror-stricken, fearing

tes, ne forte domibus suburbanis exustis totam civitatem vorax flamma corriperet.

Ille dies putatus est Spalato ultimus illuxisse. Tantus enim quosdam invaserat metus, ut Murgia, qui erat inter cives ditior et loquator, asportatis pecunie sacculis ad quasdam naves diceret deditionem Hungaris faciendam. Alii vero vigore spiritus confortati timiditatem eius verbis asperis increpabant. advesperascente iam hora et inimico cessante incendio miserunt Spalatenses ad Hungaros pacem suppliciter postulantes. Sed banus de victoria letus, de suorum vero cede non modicum mestus, adhuc minaciter respondebat. Sic dies illa luctuosa satis tristisque discessit. Sequenti vero die videns banus et ceteri principes, quod inter structuras murorum non sic foret tuta congressio, sicut hesterno fuerat inter maceriarum fragilia et vilia munimenta, vocatis Spalatensibus cepit cum eis de pace tractare. Spalatenses vero videntes se in arto positos, hinc hostilibus circumseptos catervis, inde Tragurii ducentos cives carceribus mancipatos, condescenderunt ad omnia inevitabili necessitudine coartati. Pacti namque sunt dare fisco regio sexcentas marcas argenti et sex filios nobilium in obsides tradere ad sue fidelitatis constantiam comprobendam. Principes vero promiserunt firmiter, quod reformata pace cum Traguriensibus totalis relaxatio fieret captivorum, aliis quibusdam interpositis articulis, quos hic inserere opus non fuit.¹

Et sic predicti principes infecto negotio ad propria sunt reversi. At vero Spalatenses de Hugrini potentia freti credebant per ipsum omnes casus suos ad integrum restaurari. Tunc adeuntes

¹ The truce was signed on 19 July 1244 (CD 4: 235–6) and was confirmed by King Béla IV on 14 October (CD 4: 247). The conditions were hard for the Spalatins. Besides those listed by Thomas, there were stipulations forbidding the city to employ a *podestà* who was not the subject of the king. They had to promise that they would not oppose the Tragurins over the possession of Ostrog, and that they would return to them the Islet of St. Stephen. They also had to renounce their current allies, that is, Ban Ninoslav, Count Andrew of Hum and others.

that once the houses in the suburbs burnt then the whole city would catch fire and be devoured by the flames.

That day, people thought, would be the last dawn for Split. Certain persons were so overcome by fear that Murgia, one of the richer and more eloquent among the citizens, declared—after loading his sacks of money aboard some ships—that surrender should be offered to the Hungarians. But others, strengthened by some vigor of spirit, rebuked him bitterly for his cowardice. Now as evening was approaching and the hostile flames were dying down, the people of Split sent messengers to the Hungarians, humbly suing for peace. But the ban, although rejoicing in victory, was in no small way grieved for the men he had lost, and continued to answer with threats. So that day passed, full of grief and sadness. On the next day the ban and the other leaders realized that it would not be as safe to attempt battle within the confines of the walls as it had been on the previous day, as the defense works of the wall were made of poor material and likely to collapse. They therefore summoned the Spalatins and began to treat with them about peace. The Spalatins realized that they were in a quandary: here they were surrounded by the enemy forces, while two hundred of their fellow citizens were held prisoner in Trogir. So they agreed to all terms, bowing to inevitable necessity. They undertook to pay six hundred silver marks to the royal fisc and to hand over six sons of the nobles as hostages to assure their continued loyalty. The Hungarian leaders in turn promised faithfully that they would reestablish peace with Trogir and arrange the unconditional release of all captives. There were other clauses as well, but there is no need to detail these here.¹

And so the aforementioned leaders returned to their own lands leaving the business unfinished. However, the Spalatins had confidence in the power of Ugrinus, believing that he would restore all their fortunes anew. So they went to the archdeacon

archidiaconum cum capitulo instabant, ut electioni assensum prebentes pro electo mittere festinarent. Sed non acquiescebat archidiaconus cum ceteris scientes, quod talis electio nullius erat valoris, cum foret in maximum opprobrium ecclesie attempata. Sed hi, qui pestifero adhuc invidie ulcere tabescebant, non putabant archidiaconum iustitie zelo moveri, sed credebant, quod ad se rem traheret et adhuc electionis preterite spei sibi fiducia superesset. Tunc iudex Murgia, Fuscus presbyter et ceteri, quos prave intentionis vexabat inscitia, concitantes populum ceperunt urgere archidiaconum, ut ipsemet personaliter ad ducendum electum proficisci deberet. Archidiacono ergo licet displiceret electi persona et maxime false electionis processus, ne quia tamen malitie cavillatio crederetur, condescendere decrevit, sed nullo modo prius ire acquievit, donec ipsimet temeritatis auctores proprio confiterentur ore, quod in subreptione bulle et in cunctis falsitatis processibus contra Deum et contra animas suas presumpsissent. Sic ergo abiit archidiaconus non tam voluntarius quam coactus et sociatus Iohanne Vitalis¹ layco in Hungariam est profectus. Ibi in presentia domini Bele regis et eius curie qualitercumque Hugrinum denuo elegit. Cui rex ibidem concessit comitatum civitatis Spalatensis et dominium insularum cum quibusdam aliis rebus.

Reversus igitur archidiaconus ad propria non invenit vivos Fuscum et Murgiam et quosdam alios, qui in depressionem ecclesiastici iuris nequiter et perperam plus ceteris contendebant. Rex vero apud Vranam positus circa Pascale festum² susceptis a Spalatensibus quinque milibus librarum relaxari fecit cunctos captivos. Et dominus Hugrinus archielectus cum magna familia equitum et clientum veniens archiepiscopale domicilium habitaturus intravit. Postea vero toto elapso triennio iste Hugrinus

¹ See above, n. 3, p. 218.

² Easter was on 16 April 1245.

and the chapter and insisted that they approve the election and summon the bishop-elect with all speed. However, the archdeacon and the others would not acquiesce, for they knew that the election was invalid, having been conducted to the great scandal of the church. But the Spalatins, consumed with the deadly canker of spite, could not believe that the archdeacon was motivated by zeal for justice; rather, they thought that he was concerned with his own interests and still believed that his previous election would be upheld. Then Judge Murgia, Fuscus the priest and the others, acting from ill will and stupidity, stirred up the populace and began to urge the archdeacon that he should set out in person to fetch the elected man. In the end, for all his distaste for the elected man personally and in particular for the fraudulent process of the election, the archdeacon decided to give in, not wishing to lend credibility to spiteful gossip. However, he would in no way agree to set out until the authors of the presumptuous act should confess with their own mouths that in the theft of the seal and the whole process of forgery they had had the temerity to act against God and against their own souls. So the archdeacon departed not so much voluntarily as under compulsion, and set out for Hungary in the company of a layman, John son of Vitalis.¹ There in the presence of King Béla and his court he in some fashion elected Ugrinus a second time. The king at the same time granted Ugrinus the comital rights of the city of Split and the lordship of the islands, along with certain other things.

Returning home, the archdeacon found that Fuscus, Murgia and certain others, who more than anybody else had wickedly and wrongly sought to suppress the rights of the church, were no longer alive. Meanwhile the king, who was at Vrana for the Easter celebrations,² ordered the release of all the captives on receipt of five thousand pounds from the Spalatins. And Lord Ugrinus the archbishop-elect arrived with a large household of riders and clients and installed himself in the archbishop's residence. However, it would be fully three years before Ugrinus

ex mandato apostolico consecrationem suscepit in ecclesia beati Domnii per manum istorum suffraganeorum suorum: videlicet Treguani Traguriensis, Nicolay Farensis, Bartholomei Scardonensis et Philippi Seniensis¹ episcoporum anno Redemptionis millesimo ducentesimo quadragesimo septimo, XII Kal. Octub., gerens annos natu circiter XL.² Fuit autem utraque predictus dignitate, archiepiscopatus et comitatus,³ nec his contentus ad altiora semper et ditiora toto mentis desiderio hanelabat. Erat autem sanguinis nobilitate turgidus, iuvenili calore pomposus, stature proceritas et faciei venustas, quibus ceteros precellebat, non permittebant eum mediocria de se sentire. Secularibus quidem negotiis totus intentus, ecclesiastica velud superflua quedam et minoris cure indigentia segniter procurabat. Ita demum omnia studio mundane deditus cenodoxe, non sapientum, non relligiosorum appetebat consortia, sed armatorum circa se catervas habere gaudebat. Verum cum pro militaribus stipendiis domestice sibi non sufficerent facultates, tendebat manum ad aliena et illicita, cupiens in victu, vestitu et multitudine clientele Hungaricorum prelatorum se copiis coequare. Sic autem tam clericis, quam laycis atque monasteriis durus exactor et onerosus dominator erat. Temptavit autem omnia iura canonicorum subtrahere totasque quatuor decimales portiones ad usum proprium retorquere,⁴ sed obsistente archidiacono cum ceteris non valuit, nisi portionem pauperum dumtaxat contra predecessorum suorum consuetudinem usurpare. Et quia non permitte-

¹ Bishop Philip of Senj was mentioned in the documents from 1248 to 1257 (CD 4: 342–3, 355; CD 5: 66). He received from Pope Innocent IV the privilege of using Slavonic liturgy in his diocese, a privilege which was soon considered as papal approval of Slavonic liturgy in Croatia in general, see John V. A. Fine, *The Late Medieval Balkans. A Critical Survey from the Late Twelfth Century to the Ottoman Conquest* (Ann Arbor, MI: University of Michigan Press, 1994), p. 152.

² 20 September 1247. Ugrinus was styled *archielectus* from 10 April 1245 (CD 4: 271), and was for the first time styled *archiepiscopus* on 23 September 1247 (CD 4: 327).

received consecration in accordance with the papal mandate at the hands of his suffragans, namely the bishops Treguanus of Trogir, Nicholas of Hvar, Bartholomew of Skradin and Philip of Senj.¹ The consecration took place in the church of Saint Domnius on the twelfth day before the calends of October in the year of the Redemption 1247, when Ugrinus was about 40 years old.² Moreover, he held both titles, that of archbishop and that of count;³ yet, not content with these, he longed with all his heart for ever greater heights and riches. Noble blood fed his conceit and the fire of youth his love of pomp, while his uncommonly tall figure and handsome face left him with no mean opinion of himself. He was totally involved in secular matters, and gave scant attention to the affairs of the church, treating them as incidental and of minor importance. As he was given over to the pursuit of worldly vanities, he sought out the company of any but wise or religious persons, and delighted to have about him companies of men-at-arms. And when his household income was insufficient to pay for the wages of these soldiers, he unlawfully reached out for the property of others and what was forbidden. For in richness of table and wardrobe and crowds of attendant clients he desired to be the equal of the prelates of Hungary. He thus became a harsh exactor and burdensome overlord to clerics, laymen and monasteries alike. He also attempted to deprive the canons of their rights altogether and to appropriate for his own use all four parts of the tithes;⁴ however, he was unable to prevail in the face of the opposition of the archdeacon and others. He succeeded only in usurping

³ Ugrinus held the position of count of Split from April 1245 to his death in 1248 (CD 4: 271, 279, 321, 327, 340, 347; Josip Barbarić *et al.* (eds.), *Diplomatički zbornik Kraljevine Hrvatske, Dalmacije i Slavonije—Dodaci. Codex diplomaticus Regni Croatiae, Dalmatiae et Slavoniae—Supplementa*, 2 vols. (Zagreb: HAZU, 1998–2002), 1: 126; Lucius, *Legacy*, fasc. 538, fols. 125–125').

⁴ Thomas refers to the settlement regarding the division of the tithes concluded between the chapter and Archbishop Bernard, and confirmed by Pope Innocent III in 1206 (CD 3: 56–8).

batur de rebus ecclesie suam ex toto explere cupidinem, nulla caritatis conexio eorum animos in consensum mutuum constringebat, sed dira discordie pestis eos sepius in contentionum scandala concitabat. Layci vero nichilominus de ipso sua spe fuere frustrati, nam cum putarent eum contra inimicos civitatis fortem ac bellacem futurum, ipse e contrario mitem et pacatum se gerens cum eis omnem austeritatis sue rigorem in cives suos exercere volebat. Erat autem bonis turbulentus et minax, pravis vero munificus et amicus. Ita quidem contigit, ut omnibus gravis et intolerabilis videretur, ob quam causam ipse semper contra cives et cives contra ipsum malivolentie suspitiones gerebant. Consecratus tandem, ut predictum est, misit prenomi-
natum episcopum Seniensem¹ ad domini pape Innocentii curiam, qui tunc manebat Lugduni,² petens suppliciter, ut pallium ei mittere dignaretur. Quo optento reversus est episcopus palliumque tradidit ex mandato apostolico in manibus Bartholomei Scardonensis episcopi eidem archiepiscopo assignandum. Idem tamen episcopus, licet iam relicto seculo fratrum minorum religionem intrasset, vocatus tamen Spalatum venit pallioque, ut ei mandatum fuerat, Hugrinum archiepiscopum investivit.

Hiis diebus contigit quemdam fratrem Iohannem natione Hungarum, de ordine predicatorum, eligi in episcopum ecclesie Scardonensis. Qui presentatus archiepiscopo in illis tunc partibus existenti, confirmationem ab eo suscepit secumque duxit ad metropolitanam ecclesiam consecrandum misitque et vocavit suffraganeos, cum quibus eadem erat consecratio celebranda.

¹ That is, Philip. See above, n. 1 p. 352.

the portion set aside for the poor, contrary to the custom of his predecessors. But as he was not permitted to fully satisfy his desires from the wealth of the church, no bond of love bound their hearts in mutual consent, but rather the dread curse of discord drove them often to scandalous quarrels. Nevertheless, the laymen too were disappointed in the hopes that they had placed in him. They had thought that they would have in him a strong and warlike champion against the enemies of the city; but towards such persons he behaved mildly and peacefully, while reserving his full harshness and severity for his fellow citizens. To the good he was troublesome and threatening, but to the dishonest generous and friendly. Thus it came about that he was regarded by everybody as an insufferable burden, and so he constantly suspected the citizens of ill will, and they suspected the same of him. After he was finally consecrated (as has been recounted above) he sent the aforementioned bishop of Senj¹ to the court of Pope Innocent, who was then residing in Lyons,² and asked him humbly to deign to send him the *pallium*. When he received it, the bishop returned, and in accordance with the instructions of the pope delivered the *pallium* to Bishop Bartholomew of Scardona, to be conferred upon the archbishop. The bishop had already abandoned the world and entered the Franciscan Order; but when he was summoned he came to Split and invested Archbishop Ugrinus with the *pallium* as he had been instructed.

During these days it happened that a certain friar of the Order of Preachers named John, by birth a Hungarian, was elected bishop of the church of Skradin. He was presented to the archbishop, who was in those parts at the time, and received confirmation from him. The archbishop then took him with him to the metropolitan church to be consecrated there, and he called the suffragans together who were to celebrate his consecration.

² Pope Innocent IV resided in Lyons from October 1244 to April 1251.

Eo autem temporis articulo infelix Hugrinus gravi languore corripitur et ingravescente paulatim morbi fervore undecimo die ad extrema vite pervenit.¹ Sic autem contigit, ut pridie quam prima vice decoratus pallio, consecrationem eiusdem episcopi celebrare volebat, cum eodem pallio ad tumultum est delatus et ita dumtaxat funereas pompas, non autem divina, potuit sacramenta pallio decorare. Illis autem diebus, cum in lecto infirmitatis decumberet et iam de vita pene penitus desperaret, vocavit fratres de capitulo et in eorum presentia satis bene et ordinabiliter condidit testamentum. Coram quibus et coram aliis religiosis viris mirabiliter de peccatis compunctus publice de quibusdam excessibus est confessus. Nichilominus autem cum multis lacrimis et gemitibus validis secreta confessione coram suo confessore penitendo, vehementer afficiebatur de omnibus, si superviveret, satisfactionem omnimodam promittendo nec semel, set pluries in ipsis diebus confitebatur. Fuerat enim vir litteratus et naturali facundia peditus et maxime in divina pagina eruditus. Studuerat enim apud Parisios annis fere duodecim in theologica facultate subministrante sibi scolasticos sumptus Hugrino Colocensi archiepiscopo, patruo suo.² Emerat enim sibi cum multa quantitate pecunie totum corpus Bible cum commentis et glosis, sicut solet legi a magistris in scolis.

Quo defuncto et apud ecclesiam fratrum predicatorum honorifice tumulato suffraganei, qui ad consecrandum Scardonensem episcopum convenerant, eiusdem archiepiscopi exequias celebrarunt et frater Iohannes,³ qui in episcopum venerat consecrari, per electionem unanimem in archiepiscopum extitit postulatus. Prefuit autem Hugrinus a die consecrationis sue usque ad diem sepulture anno uno, mensibus duobus, diebus decem.

¹ Ugrinus died on 27 November 1248 (Farlati 3: 273).

² See above, n. 5, p. 257.

³ Friar John is mentioned as the archbishop-elect of Split from December 1248 (CD 4: 373) to May 1249 (CD 4: 394).

But at this point in time the unfortunate Ugrinus was stricken by a grave illness, and his illness grew by stages more and more severe until on the eleventh day he reached his life's end.¹ And so it came to pass that the day before he was planning to celebrate Bishop John's consecration, adorned in his *pallium* for the first time, he was carried out in the same *pallium* to the grave; thus in the end it was not the divine sacraments but simply his funeral cortege that his *pallium* adorned. During those days, when he lay in his bed of sickness and had almost totally given up hope of his recovery, he called the brothers from the chapter and in their presence he drew up his will properly and in due order. And in their presence and that of some other religious he repented in marvelous manner of his sins and publicly confessed to certain excesses. And in the same way he made a secret confession to his personal confessor, repenting with deep emotion and many tears and heavy groans and promising that if he survived he would give satisfaction to everybody in all respects. And he confessed not once, but several times during those days. Ugrinus was a man of letters, blessed with natural eloquence and especially well versed in divine scriptures. He had studied in Paris for some twelve years on the Faculty of Theology, the costs of his studies being met by his uncle Ugrinus, the archbishop of Kalocsa.² He had enough money to buy a whole Bible together with commentaries and glosses, such as the masters in the schools are wont to read.

After Ugrinus died and was buried honorably at the church of the Friars Preachers, the suffragans, who had gathered for the consecration of the bishop of Skradin, celebrated the archbishop's funeral rites, and they unanimously chose Friar John,³ the one who was to be consecrated as bishop, to be postulated as the new archbishop.

From his the day of his consecration until the day of his funeral Ugrinus had been archbishop for one year, two months and ten days.

XLVI. DE ROGERIO ARCHIEPISCOPO

Cum autem ad proseguendum electionis negotium ad domini pape curiam nuntii quererentur, vix inventi sunt duo, qui hoc onus assumerent: Desa Corvi canonicus¹ et Dragus nepos Sabaci, Spalatensis civis.² Adeo videbatur omnibus grave et periculosum usque ad Gallias pergere, quia dominus papa Innocentius Lugduni³ eo tempore morabatur. Propter discordiam siquidem, que inter ecclesiam et Fredericum imperatorem agitabatur acriter, grande viarum discrimen illuc pergentibus imminebat.

Tunc predicti nuntii iter arripientes, abierunt per Lombardiam cum multa cautela. Illuc tandem pervenientes et legationem, sicut eis iniunctum fuerat, procurantes, per totum ferme annum in prosecutione negotii occupati fuerunt. Quia vero periculosum ac sumptuosum erat iterato pro facto huiusmodi legationem mittere, metuentes, sicut et contigit, ne forte, quod factum fuerat, non deberet admitti, hoc electores in petitione adiecerunt, ut si postulatio facta summo pontifici non placeret, alium ad regimen Spalatensis ecclesie cum plenitudine pontificalis officii mitteret secundum sue arbitrium voluntatis. Sicque factum est, ut casata postulatione predicta, mitteret Apulum quemdam de partibus Beneventanis, Rogerium nomine, ex oppido, quod Turris Cepia⁴ vocatur. Fuerat autem clericus, capellanus cuiusdam cardinalis Iohannis Toletani,⁵ quem frequenter pro suis et ecclesie negotiis procurandis in Hungariam mittere solitus erat.⁶ Idem

¹ Desa son of Corvus is mentioned in documents from 1237 to 1249 (CD 4: 22, 373, 389).

² He is mentioned also in the letter of Pope Innocent IV to the chapter of Split of 30 April 1249 (CD 4: 389). He was later a prominent person and was a judge in 1266 and 1267 (CD 5: 399, 421, 426, 430).

³ See above, n. 2, p. 355.

⁴ It is usually stated in scholarship that Roger was from Torre Maggiore in present-day Apulia, but it does not seem probable. Thomas, who was well informed, being a close cooperator of Roger, explicitly states that *Turris Cepia* is in the region of Benevento, that is, at the opposite end of southern Italy (apparently referred to as *Apulia* here). However, we were unable to identify that town.

46 ARCHBISHOP ROGER

When envoys were sought for the election process at the papal curia, only two could be found who would undertake this charge: the canon Desa son of Corvus¹ and Drago, the nephew of Sabacius, a citizen of Split.² For it was considered by everyone difficult and dangerous to travel as far as France—Pope Innocent being in residence in Lyons³ at that time. For much danger threatened travelers on the roads there as a consequence of the bitter discord between the church and Emperor Frederick.

The aforementioned legates started on their way and with much caution passed through Lombardy. Arriving finally at their goal, they set about their task of legation with which they were entrusted, and they were occupied by this for almost one full year. However, given that it seemed both expensive and dangerous to send a further legation regarding the same matter, the electors, who were afraid that their proposal might not be acceptable—as indeed proved to be the case—added in their petition the request that if the supreme pontiff were not satisfied with the plea, he should send another person with full papal authority to govern the affairs of the church of Split. And so it came about. The first postulation was rejected, and the pope sent an Apulian, one Roger, from a town called Turrus Cepia⁴ in the region of Benevento. He had been a member of the clergy, the chaplain of Cardinal John of Toledo,⁵ by whom he was frequently sent to Hungary to take care of his and the church's affairs.⁶ The

⁵ Master John of Toledo, an English Cistercian who studied in Toledo and received his epithet from that town, served in the Papal Curia from around 1215. He played an important role in papal diplomacy during the conflict of the papacy with Emperor Frederick II, and was created cardinal by Pope Innocent IV in 1244. From 1262 he was cardinal-bishop of Porto and papal vicar of Rome. He died on 13 July 1275.

⁶ Roger's activity as an agent of Cardinal John is mentioned in the aforementioned letter of Pope Innocent IV (see above, n. 2, p. 358).

autem Rogerius tempore Tatarorum ibidem inventus est, et in eorum manus incidens et inter ipsos per biennium fere sub spetie alicuius vilis et pauperis servi delitescens vix evasit mortis incursum.¹ Cum autem ad suum dominum reversus fuisset, cepit idem cardinalis ad ipsius promotionem satis vigilanter intendere, et ipsum in notitiam et gratiam domini pape devenire fecit.

Consecratus tandem et palliatus recessit de curia et transiens per Lombardiam devenit Venetias, ibidem aliquantam faciens moram emit, que sibi erant necessaria. Viginti fere annis in Romana curia commorando non parvam cumulaverat pecunie summam. Inde iter arripiens venit per Carinthiam et transiens per partes Aquilegie a domino Bertoldo, patriarcha,² honorifice susceptus est. Quem curialiter pertractans dedit ei conductum per totam suam diocesim, expensas affluenter subministrando, quousque fines regni Hungarie attigisset. Ingressus autem partes Pannonie venit in Hungariam et pergens ad domini Bele regis curiam cum commendaticiis domini pape litteris, exposuit seriem negotii, qualiter ad regimen Spalatine ecclesie fuerat destinatus. Non autem placuit regali celsitudini, quod factum fuerat circa ipsum, non modicum ferens indigne, quod promotus fuerat preter ipsius conscientiam et assensum. Dissimulato tamen indignationis motu ad sedem suam archiepiscopum pacifice abire permisit.

Venit autem cum viginti equitibus, cum capellanis et familia et secunda dominica de quadragesima³ civitatem ingrediens, cum magna cleri et populi alacritate susceptus est.

¹ Based on his experience from that captivity, Roger wrote the historical work *Carmen miserabile* (see above, n. 3, p. 256).

² Berthold of Andechs-Merania (born ca. 1182, died 1251), brother-in-law of King Andrew II of Hungary. From 1207 to 1218 he was archbishop of Kalocsa, from 1218 to his death patriarch of Aquileia. Until 1218 he played an important, although controversial, role in the politics of Hungary.

same Roger found himself there at the time of the Tatar invasion, and having fallen into their hands he spent almost two years among them. By disguising himself as a poor and lowly servant and lying low, he narrowly escaped with his life.¹ When he finally returned to his lord, the cardinal began to take considerable interest in his promotion, and made sure that he came into the attention and favor of the pope.

Finally he was consecrated and invested with the *pallium* and left the curia. After traveling through Lombardy he arrived at Venice, where he spent some time buying what was necessary for him. Having spent some twenty years in the papal curia, he had accumulated quite a sizeable amount of money. From Venice he passed through Carinthia and came into the territory of Aquileia, where he was received with honor by Patriarch Berthold.² He treated him courteously, and gave him safe conduct through his diocese and provided his expenses generously for his journey as far as the bounds of the kingdom of Hungary. He passed through the region of Pannonia, entered Hungary, and then proceeded to the court of King Béla bearing a letter of recommendation from the pope. There he explained the details of the events through which he had been appointed to take charge of the church of Split. His Royal Majesty, in fact, was not at all pleased with what had been decided regarding him, and he was quite angry that Roger had been appointed without his knowledge and consent. But he hid his indignation and let the archbishop proceed in peace to his see.

Roger arrived with twenty knights, plus his chaplains and household. He entered the city on the second Sunday after Lent,³ and was received with great joy by the clergy and people.

³ 20 February 1250. However, the first extant document from Split mentioning him as the archbishop is one of 23 September 1250 (CD 4: 428).

Fuit autem iste Rogerius archiepiscopus vir satis industrius et in augendis rebus temporalibus multum sollicitus et intentus. Cepit autem reparare domos et cameras episcopii easque studiosius decorare. Forinsecus autem fecit cenacula et solaria trabibus et asseribus satis artificiose compacta, que magis ad apparentiam, quam ad indigentiam videbantur fuisse constructa. Cellas vero vinarias necessariis et novis utensilibus adornavit. Edificavit in Salone fluvio molendina, posuit aratra, acquisivit equos et animalia et quia propter inopiam rei familiaris non sufficebat ad omnia, multis ecclesiis et monasteriis erat plurimum onerosus. Multum denique conabatur honorifice vivere, preciosam habebat suppellectilem, sumptuosas volebat vestes et lectisternia. Pro maiori parte anni domi residebat, nec facile egrediebatur ad publicum, nisi clericorum et clientum honesta comitante caterva. Mundam nitidamque volebat tenere mensam, maxime quando hospites aderant. Solebat namque adventantes ex diversis civitatibus nobiles ad convivium invitare eisque satis affluentes preparationes apponere satagebat. Quando vero ad visitandam provinciam egrediebatur, volebat semper aliquos de canonicis et de civibus in sua sotietate habere.

XLVII. DE ADVENTU REGIS CORADI

Per idem tempus rex Coradus,¹ filius quondam Frederici imperatoris, exiens de Germanie partibus, ad capescendum Sicilie regnum properanter iter agebat. Is cum non paucis trieribus navigans per ora Dalmatici litoris pacifice vehebatur. Suscipiebatur vero magnifice a civitatibus, ubicumque applicare volebat, et tamquam prepotens rex honorabatur a cunctis. Sed quia pater suus ab Innocentio papa in concilio Lugdunensi fuerat condemnatus et imperiali dignitate cum omni sua prole privatus ac anathematis mucrone percussus, cum idem Coradus ad portum Spalatine civitatis applicuisset, Rogerius archiepiscopus ipsum

¹ Conrad IV, king of the Romans from 1237 and pretender to the imperial crown in 1250–4.

As a man Archbishop Roger was most industrious and took great time and trouble in furthering temporal matters. Thus he began to repair the houses and the chambers of the bishop's residence and decorate them eagerly. Outside he added an upper story and a balcony with beams and cross-timbers skillfully joined, which seemed to have been built rather for the sake of appearance than of need. He also refurbished the wine cellars with new equipment and other necessities. He had water-mills built on the River Jadro, laid out ploughlands, and acquired horses and other animals. But his own financial resources were insufficient for all this, and he placed a very great burden on several monasteries and churches. In short, he did his best to live in style. He had valuable furniture and liked expensive clothes and rich draperies. He remained at home for most of the year, and avoided going out in public unless he was accompanied by an imposing retinue of clerics and clients. He enjoyed maintaining a fine and splendid table, especially when he had guests. He used to invite distinguished persons who arrived from other cities to dinner, and he took pains to ensure that all that was prepared and served was lavish and in abundance. And when he left to visit the province, he liked to have a number of the canons or the citizens in his company.

47 THE ARRIVAL OF KING CONRAD

At the same time King Conrad,¹ the son of the former Emperor Frederick, had left Germany and was traveling in haste to take over the realm of Sicily. He was sailing with no small number of triremes, and as he traveled peacefully along the coast of Dalmatia, he was received magnificently by the cities wherever he chose to put to shore, and was honored by everybody as a most powerful monarch. However, his father had been condemned by Pope Innocent at the Council of Lyons, and deprived, together with his descendants, of all his imperial dignities, and was punished by anathema. So when Conrad put to shore at the harbor of the city of Split, Archbishop Roger, on perceiving

sentiens, quod vellet ingredi civitatem, fecit claudi ecclesias, et ab omnibus cessare divinis. Ipse autem festinanter foras egrediens cum Thoma archidiacono et cum quibusdam de senioribus secessit ad villas ibique tamdiu demoratus est, quamdiu rex ipse in civitate resedit. Videns autem rex, quod archiepiscopus eum vitabat, non modicum tulit indigne ex eo maxime, quod de suo regno natus in his partibus presulari dignitate fuerat sublimatus. Cum autem cives Spalatenses ipsum gratanter suscepissent et fecissent eum in domibus episcopii hospitari, rex idem versando scrinii cartulas, quas ibidem reperit, multum sollicitè perquirebat, si forte aliquod inveniretur scriptum, ex quo posset ipsum de infidelitate sui regis infamie nevo notare. Alias autem non modicas minas intentabat eidem. Verum illic paucorum dierum moram faciens vento flante secundo in Appuliam est transvectus.¹ Et archiepiscopus ad sedem suam reversus est.

XLVIII. DE ADVENTU BELE REGIS SECUNDO

Rex autem Hungarie Bela sui regni revisendo confinia descendit per Chroatiam ad Dalmatie civitates fecitque sibi parari hospitium aput ecclesiam sancti Petri, que est inter Salonam et Tragurium² ibique resedit non paucis diebus cum magno diversarum gentium comitatu. Confluebant autem ad eum, tamquam ad dominum, undique multitudo populi propter diversas causas aput ipsum expediendas. Tunc ascendens galeam venit ad portum civitatis Spalatensis ingressusque in eam cum multa ambitione, sicut rex regalia gerens insignia, magna cleri et populi exultatione susceptus est. Mansitque die illa et nocte in palatio Nicolai Duimi,³ cives vero ad ipsum frequenter accedentes valde

¹ January 1252. See *The Cambridge Medieval History 6: Victory of the Papacy*, ed. by Joseph Robson Tanner, Charles William Previté-Orton and Zachary Nugent Brooke (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1957), p. 169.

² The church of St. Peter of Klobučac. The exact location of that church is debated, but it was apparently on the spot of the present-day parish church of Kaštel Novi. For more details, see Vjeko Omašić, *Povijest Kaštela* [A history of Kaštela] (Split: Logos, 1986), pp. 95–105.

that he wanted to enter the city, had the doors to the churches closed and all the holy ceremonies interrupted. He himself, in the company of Archdeacon Thomas and some other elders, withdrew in haste from the city to the surrounding villages and remained there for as long as the king was in residence in the city. When the king noticed that the archbishop was avoiding him, he was much offended, the more so as the archbishop was born in his kingdom and elevated there to the rank of bishop. Now the king had been received warmly by the citizens and they had given him accommodation in the houses of the bishop's palace. So he began to go very carefully through the documents that he found there in the archive, hoping to locate some document that could prove that the archbishop had behaved treasonably towards his king. He directed a number of serious threats against him as well. However, Conrad stayed there only for a few days. When a fair wind sprang up he sailed across to Apulia,¹ and the archbishop returned to his see.

48 KING BÉLA'S SECOND VISIT

While King Béla of Hungary was inspecting the borders of his reign, he traveled down through Croatia to the cities of Dalmatia. He had himself accommodated at the church of Saint Peter, which is between Salona and Trogir,² and remained in residence there for many days amidst a large retinue of people of different nations. A great number of people gathered before him as their lord, with diverse issues to be settled in his presence. Thereafter he boarded a galley and came to the harbor of the city of Split. He entered the city with great pomp, wearing the royal insignia as king, and was received with great joy by clergy and people. He remained that day and night at the palace of Nicholas son of Duimus,³ and the citizens flocked to him

³ Nicholas son of Duimus was a respectable citizen of Split. He is mentioned several times in documents as a judge from 1249 to 1262 (CD 4: 395, 454; CD 5: 4, 83, 86, 164, 199, 212).

benigne suscipiebantur et audiebantur ab ipso affabilem se ac serenum eis plurimum exhibendo. Tunc cepit eis, non animose sed moderata allocutione, impropere de promotione archiepiscopi, videlicet quod hominem alienigenam et ignotum, non de suo regno et preter ipsius conscientiam et assensum voluerunt antistitem habere. Sed cum cives se multiformiter excusarent, rex factum equanimitè tulit mandans eisdem, dumtaxat laycis et eosdem astringens vinculo iuramenti, quod de cetero tale quid facere nullatenus attemptarent. Verumtamen eundem archiepiscopum, quamdiu hic stetit et quotiens ad ipsum in Hungariam est profectus, debita semper veneratione tractabat ipsum ad se crebro venire faciens et cum eodem amicabiliter colloquia faciebat. Demoratus est autem Bela rex apud sanctum Petrum multis diebus. A civibus autem nostris pluribus est honoratus delitiis, quos regratians affatim eosque cum plenitudine sue gratie relinquens ad Hungariam reversus est.

IL. DE ADVENTU REGINE

Aliquantis autem transcursis annorum curriculis domina Maria regina, Grecorum imperatorum stirpe progenita,¹ descendit ab Hungaria per Pannonie et Chroatie partes iter faciens ex ea videlicet causa, quia fidelitatem requirebat ab illis gentibus filio suo Bele, adhuc in puerili etate constituto,² quem super illas partes ducem prefecerat. Quod dominium ei naturali iure competebat, utpote qui secundus erat regis filius, primogenito iam Stephano Hungarici regni dyademate insignito.³ Venit ergo cum magno principum ac militum comitatu et in castro Tini-

¹ See above, n. 5, p. 165.

² The second-born son of King Béla and Queen Mary (born ca. 1243, died 1269). He was mentioned as the duke of all Slavonia from January 1263 (CD 5: 243) to his death (RA 1617).

³ Stephen (see above, n. 3, p. 287) used, from 1261, the title of *rex iunior*, having been crowned in 1245; in 1270, he became the king of Hungary as Stephen V.

constantly. They were received by him and listened to most graciously, and he showed himself most approachable and benevolent. Then he began, not angrily but in measured language, to take them to task on the matter of the archbishop's promotion, namely for having wanted to have somebody foreign and unknown from outside his kingdom as bishop, and without his knowledge and agreement. However, when the citizens offered all sorts of apologies and excuses, the king bore the fact with equanimity, although he charged them—at least the lay people—and bound them by oath that they should not attempt to do anything similar in the future. In spite of this, as long as Roger was archbishop here and whenever he came to visit the king in Hungary, he was always shown due reverence—indeed, the king invited him on a number of occasions and had friendly discussions with him. King Béla remained at the church of Saint Peter for many days. He was honored by our citizens with many special gifts, for which he in turn expressed his warmest thanks. And having left them in enjoyment of his full favor, he returned to Hungary.

49 THE ARRIVAL OF THE QUEEN

After some years passed by, the lady Queen Mary, descended by birth from the Greek emperors,¹ came down from Hungary after traveling down through the territory of Pannonia and Croatia. The reason for her journey was to receive fealty from those peoples on behalf of her son Béla, who was still in his minority.² She had appointed him as duke of those territories, and they belonged to him according to natural law, since he was the second son in the royal family, and the first-born, Stephen, had already received the crown of the kingdom of Hungary.³ She arrived with a large entourage of magnates and soldiers and took up residence in the castle of Knin. There she called to-

ensi resedit. Ibique convocatis omnibus illarum regionum proceribus habuit cum illis de predicta causa colloquium.

Illis autem diebus contigit, quod quidam de custodibus castri Clisie tempore messium descendentes Salonam, ceperunt in aliquibus locis diripere Spalatensium fruges. Quod cum in civitate auditum fuisset, cucurrerunt aliqui indiscrete audacie iuvenes non ex civitatis mandato, sed stultitie calore succensi, quasi ad propulsandam iniuriam et violentiam violenter repellendam exierunt. Pervenientes ad ipsos ceperunt rixari cum eis, in qua rixa duo Hungari perempti sunt.

Quod cum ad aures regine personuisset, irata est valde statimque Tiniense deserens castrum, turbulenta nimis et minax, ad summendam de Spalatensibus vindictam totis viribus properabat. Sed cum ipsi presensissent, quod regina pessimum gestaret propositum, miserunt ad eam nuntios, supplicantes et satisfactionem ad ipsius beneplacitum promittentes postulabant, ut non indignatione comota, sed placata et pacifica ad fideles suos accedere dignaretur, cum facinus illud non ex deliberatione communi, sed casu contingente perpetratum fuisset. Nec ad eorum culpam referendum erat, qui pro defensione suarum rerum exierant, sed ad illorum potius nequitiam imputandum, qui aliena diripere satagebant. Sed ipsa nichil ad rationabilem nostrorum excusationem flectens sui animi rigorem venit et posuit se in Clisie castro inventus autem ibi est Rogerius archiepiscopus, qui ascendens ad eam nitebatur pro se et pro civitate pacem et gratiam impetrare. Sed ipsa ex verbis eius seior facta ad ipsius et civitatis odium multo fortius inflammabatur,

gether all the magnates and noblemen of those parts and held discussions with them on the aforementioned issue.

Now during those days it happened that some of the guards of the castle of Klis went down to Solin during the harvest time and began to carry off the crops of the Spalatins at a number of places. When news of this reached the city, some thoughtless young hotheads, without any authority from the city and merely fired by the ardor of their own stupidity, rushed together and went out as if to ward off damage and to repel violence by violent means. As soon as they caught up with the guards, a brawl broke out between them, in the course of which two Hungarians were killed.

When word of this came to the ears of the queen, she was extremely angry. She left the castle of Knin immediately in a fury, issuing threats and hastening to take revenge on the Spalatins with all her might. When the citizens learnt that the queen was intending the worst against them, they sent legates to her, entreating her and promising compensation to her full satisfaction. They begged her to vouchsafe to approach her loyal subjects not in a spirit of indignation but peacefully and tranquilly, since that crime had happened not in consequence of a decision of the community, but by chance, entirely accidentally. And the blame should not be put on those who went out to defend their own possessions but rather on the villainy of those who tried to make off with the possessions of others. However, the queen's heart was set, and this reasonable explanation from our spokesmen did nothing to soften her. She went and installed herself in the castle of Klis, where Archbishop Roger happened to find himself at the time. He approached her and did his best to obtain peace and mercy for himself and for the city. But his words only made her more furious. Her hatred of him and the city was further inflamed as she came to suspect that he was the

suspicans de ipso, quod esset omnium inceptor malorum, et nisi amicorum subsidio recessisset de castro, paratum iam sibi regina periculum imminebat. Destinabant ad eam Spalatenses cotidie viros religiosos, et nuntios mittentes exenia et delitias, si forte aliquo modo placari potuisset. Sed ipsa obfirmato ad ultionem animo ferocitatem sui pectoris ad clementiam nullatenus relaxabat. Erat autem cum ipsa exercitus magnus Hungarorum, Sclavorum, Cumanorum, quibus precepit arma capere, ad civitatem descendere, predas animalium facere, domos incendere, vineas et agros invadere et cuncta, que possent, absque remedio devastarent.

Spalatenses vero videntes tam magnum sibi instare periculum ceperunt vigilanter ad custodiam civitatis insistere, armis se ac oportunis obstaculis premunire non foras quidem egredientes, sed ferro armati pro menibus excubantes. Post dampna vero multa, que sui exterius intulerunt, videns regina, quod nil posset contra civitatem ex violentia proficere, ad versuta se contulit argumenta. Finxit enim se iam fore placatam nichilque curare amodo de homicidio perpetrato responditque benigne nuntiis civitatis, quod vellet de cetero cum eis ad pacis concordiam declinare et quod iam non debent aliquem timorem habere. Misitque cum eis tres vel quatuor comites et triginta fere milites gladiis tantummodo circa femur dependentibus, sicut eis mos est ubique incedere, precepitque secretius ipsis, ut blandis verbis cives seducerent, et eos extra muros, quocumque possent ingenio, provocarent et quotquot possent, caperent et ad castrum traherent, alioquin sine misericordia gladiis trucidarent. Venerunt autem nuntii cum gaudio nuntiantes dominam iam esse placatam, bona fide suaserunt civibus, ut exirent, quia dixerant Hungari, quod nollent ingredi civitatem, ne forte

one who had fomented all the evil. And if he had not slipped out of the camp with the help of his friends, he would have been in great danger, under the threat of what the queen had in mind for him. Every day thereafter the Spalatins sent to her churchmen and emissaries with offerings and choice gifts, hoping that they could somehow appease her. But she had set her mind on revenge, and in no way could she be turned from anger to mercy. She had with her a large army of Hungarians, Slavs, and Cumans. She commanded them to take up arms, go down to the city, and carry off livestock, burn houses, and invade vineyards and fields, devastating everything that they could without compunction.

The Spalatins, on realizing the extent of the danger threatening them, began to mount a vigilant watch over the city and to make ready weapons and suitable obstacles. They did not actually leave the city, but lay armed and on watch near the walls. Although much damage was inflicted by her forces to the areas outside the city, the queen recognized that she could make no headway against the city itself by means of violence. She therefore turned to cunning. She made out that she was now appeased, and was no longer concerned about the deaths that had occurred. She replied to the legates of the city graciously, saying that she now wished to come to peaceful terms with them and that they need have no fear. Moreover, she sent with them three or four counts and some thirty knights; they were armed only with swords hanging at their sides, as their habit is wherever they go. But she secretly gave them instructions that they should lull the citizens with pleasant words and lure them, using whatever means they could, outside of the city walls; then they should seize as many as they could, and either bring them to the castle or else put them to death with their swords without mercy. So the legates arrived, announcing joyfully that the queen was now reconciled, and they advised the citizens in all good faith to go out from the city, because the Hungarians had told them that they would not like to enter the city, in case they

aliqua seditio oriretur, sed exeant maiores, «ut cum eis pacis federa roboremus». Crediderunt cives verbis pacificis et dolosis nullas insidias suspicantes pro eo, quod regina vultu sereno verba suasoria nuntiis protulisset. Exierunt nichil metuentes, videlicet iudices et consilarii et alii non pauci veneruntque per orientalem portam iuxta locum fratrum predicatorum. Sedentes autem cum eis et verbis pacificis de concordia contractantes Hungari mox dato signo insiluerunt et extractis gladiis arripuerunt quinque de civibus, videlicet Desam Michaelis, iudicem,¹ virum senem et grandævum, cum suo filio Nicolao² ac nepote Michaele, filio Leonardi,³ iudicem Iohanem Vitalis⁴ et iudicem Petrum, filium Cerneche.⁵ Quibusdam vero vulneratis alii omnes Deo prestante auxilium de manibus illorum elapsi sunt et evaserunt.

Audiens autem Bela rex omne malum, quod regina Spalatensibus irrogaverat, valde indoluit et protinus misit duos viros sapientes et religiosos de ordine fratrum minorum, qui eam a sevitia sua compescerent et ad Hungariam celeriter revocarent. Sed ipsa in suo rigore perdurans captos nobiles et ignobiliter ac inhumaniter ad castrum tractos in obscuro carcere fecit destrudi. At Spalatenses mestiores effecti, quod de talibus fraudulentis oportunam nescierunt adhibere cautelam, cum eis sepius ab amicis persuasum fuisset, ut sibi circumspectius precaverent, tristes iam et confusi miserunt et remiserunt ad eam suppliciter postulantes, ut nobiles, quos absque culpa capi fecerat, misericorditer relaxaret. Sed ipsa nullatenus acquievit, verumtamen, ut videbatur aliquantulum mitigata, dedit consilium, ut ad dominum regem nuntios idoneos destinarent, spondens se apud

¹ Desa son of Michael, a respectable citizen of Split, is mentioned in the documents as a judge and as a witness from 1242 to 1257 (CD 4: 155, 271, 373, 453, 510, 571, 587–8).

² Nicholas son of Desa is mentioned as a judge from 1256 to 1260 (CD 5: 3, 6, 164).

³ Michael son of Leonard is mentioned as a judge in 1260 (CD 5: 154). He was the envoy of Split in Dubrovnik in 1265 (CD 5: 353).

provoked a riot: “rather, let the elders come out so that we can confirm with them the peace agreement.” The citizens believed this deceitful talk of peace. They suspected no trap, because the queen had spoken to the legates and persuaded them with a serene face. So the citizens went out fearing nothing—the judges, the counselors and not a few others. They went out through the eastern gate, not far from the monastery of the Friars Preachers. When they were sitting there together and discussing the terms of peace, the Hungarians at a given sign suddenly leapt upon them and with drawn swords carried off five of the citizens, namely Judge Desa son of Michael,¹ a very elderly man, along with his son Nicholas² and his nephew Michael son of Leonard,³ Judge John son of Vitalis,⁴ and Judge Peter son of Črneha.⁵ Some of them were wounded, but all the others, with God’s help, escaped their clutches and escaped.

When King Béla heard of all the misfortune that the queen had caused the Spalatins, he was truly grieved, and immediately sent two wise and religious men from the order of the Friars Minor, to calm her rage and recall her quickly to Hungary. But the queen persisted in her harshness. She had the arrested nobles taken off to the castle and meanly and cruelly put into a dark dungeon. The Spalatins were all the more grieved that they had not known to take suitable precautions against such deceit, even after having been warned several times by their friends to be more careful and wary. Despondent and confused, they now sent legates repeatedly to the queen, humbly entreating her to show mercy and let the arrested nobles go, since they had committed no wrong. But she in no way relented. All the same, to show herself, being apparently a little placated, she counseled them to send appropriate legates to the king, and promised to intercede with him to good effect. The prisoners

⁴ See above, n. 3, p. 218.

⁵ Peter son of Črneha is mentioned as a judge from 1254 to 1269 (CD 5: 7, 56, 58, 191, 384, 448, 469–70, 494, 501–2).

ipsum efficaciter intercessuram. Tunc ipsos captivos de castro Clisie transferens ad Tininum ibidem eos artissime custodie mancipavit. Et sic ipsa ad Hungariam est regressa.

Spalatenses vero miserunt Thomam archidiaconum et Marinum, cognomento Bonaiunctam,¹ in Hungariam illico post reginam. Qui venientes illuc et data copia coram domini regis presentia constituti, ibidem residente regina cum legationis seriem, ut erat congruentius, perorassent. Regina, que se sponderat pro captivorum liberatione apud maiestatem regiam intercedere cum effectu, cepit Spalatenses accusare de multis. Rex autem nimis credulus verbis sue uxoris respondit, quod non acquiesceret petitioni Spalatensium, nisi darentur ei viginti quatuor obsides de melioribus civitatis. Archidiaconus autem allegans tenorem privilegii, quod ab antiquis regibus civitas obtinuerat, de obsidibus dandis consentire nullatenus voluerunt.² Et sic infecto negotio ad propria sunt reversi.

Post hec missus est Rolandus banus tractare cum civibus. Qui veniens aperuit eis regale propositum, quod non aliter concives suos de carcelari poterant erumna eripere, nisi traderentur ad regis custodiam ad minus duodecim obsides, quos rex ipsemet delegisset. Videntes autem se Spalatenses tali necessitate constrictos, acquieverunt regie voluntati. Et cum rex et regina descendissent per Sclavoniam et venissent et consedissent in oppido, quod Bichicium appellatur,³ miserunt Spalatenses duodecim pueros per manus archidiaconi Duimi Cassarii⁴ et Nicolai Duimi. Qui venientes illuc in die sancto Pasce⁵ assignaverunt

¹ Marinus called Bonaiuncta is mentioned in documents from 1251 to 1258 as a witness and as a procurator (CD 4: 453, 571, 588; CD 5: 83).

² The privileges are apparently those of King Géza II of 1142, confirming the privileges granted by King Coloman (CD 2: 49–50), and of King Andrew II of 1217 (CD 3: 68–9). Both sets of privileges have a clause stating that the king would not take hostages from the Spalatins (*obsides a vobis nullo modo recipiam*). They are both now considered to be forgeries.

³ The king and queen were in Bihać in March 1262, which is evident from the charter that they issued there on 7 March (CD 5: 216).

themselves, however, were transferred from the castle of Klis to Knin, where she placed them under the closest guard. She herself then returned to Hungary.

The Spalatins sent Thomas the archdeacon and Marinus called Bonaiuncta¹ to Hungary immediately after the queen's departure. They arrived there, and were given permission to appear at an audience in the presence of the king, where the queen was also present. When they presented the reason of their legation, as was the most fitting, the queen, who had promised to intercede effectively with the king for the liberty of the captives, began to accuse the Spalatins of numerous things. The king credulously believed his wife's words and replied that he could only fulfil the request of the Spalatins if they gave twenty-four hostages from among the best persons of the city. The archdeacon, however, citing the words of the privilege given by ancient kings to the city, would by no means agree to giving hostages to the king.² And so they returned home without achieving their goal.

After this, Ban Roland was sent to negotiate with the citizens. After his arrival he revealed a royal proposal to them, namely that the only chance to free their fellow citizens from the misery of prison was if they would give to the king at least twelve hostages, whom the king himself had previously selected. The Spalatins, realizing that they were constrained by such necessity, bowed to the will of the king. And when the king and the queen traveled through Slavonia, and came and stayed in a town called Bihać,³ the Spalatins sent them twelve boys, who were brought by the archdeacon, Duimus son of Cassarius⁴ and Nicholas son of Duimus. They arrived on the holy day of Easter⁵ and handed the boys over to the king and the queen.

⁴ Duimus son of Cassarius was a respectable citizen of Split, who held different positions in the government of the city from 1243 to 1266 (CD 4: 196, 446, 449, 453, 454; CD 5: 3, 6, 83, 86, 107, 343, 379, 384).

⁵ Easter was on 9 April 1262.

pueros ad manus regis et regine recipientes ibidem pro comite, secundum quod a civibus electus fuerat, predictum Rolandum banum.¹ Pueros vero susceperunt alacri animo rex et regina pollicentes se benigne agere cum eis et quod non diutius ipsos detinerent. Et sic captivi, qui per biennium fere in carcere non meritam luerant penam, liberati sunt et ad propria redierunt.

Iam vero de transitu Rogerii archiepiscopi disserendum esse censentes ad narrationis ordinem redeamus. Prefuit autem annis fere sedecim. Ad ultimum quidem podagrico languore correptus toto pene bienio in doloris stratu decumbens, non nisi alienis manibus poterat se movere. Intumuerant denique pedes eius et profluenti sanie tabescebant ita, ut membris omnibus destitutus solo lingue officio utebatur. Cum autem omnis spes salutis prorsus recessisset ab ipso sentiensque sibi diem instare postremum, vocavit aliquos de maioribus capituli et civitatis et coram eis condidit testamentum distribuitque omnia sua nepotibus et servientibus: argentum, libros, vestes, preter duo vascula argentea et duos anulos aureos, que reliquit ecclesie ob memoriam sui. Capitulo vero dedit unum scifum argenteum deauratum et quosdam lebetes de metallo et aliquam pecuniam fecit distribui pro anima sua precepitque executoribus testamenti omnes fruges, vinum, equos et reliqua, que remanserant in domo, distrahi et quedam sua debita expediri. Prohibebat autem archidiaconus dicens, quod non deberet prelatus testamentum de iure condere, nisi de rebus dumtaxat non ratione ecclesie acquisitis. Sed cives miseratione comoti permiserunt ipsum suam facere voluntatem.

They then received as count the aforementioned Ban Roland,¹ according to the choice of the citizens. The king and the queen received the children gladly and promised to treat them kindly and not to keep them very long. And so the prisoners, who had spent almost two years in prison suffering undeserved punishment, were released and returned home.

But now I feel that an account should be given of the passing of Archbishop Roger, so let us return to the main topic of our narration. He was archbishop for almost sixteen years. Finally he was stricken with gout and for almost two whole years he lay in bed in pain, unable to move without the help of other people. His legs became distended and atrophied, discharging liquid, and he lost all function of his limbs, so he could only use his tongue. When all hope for him had departed, and he sensed that his last day was coming, he called some of the elders from the chapter and the city, and in their presence he made his will, distributing all his possessions among his nephews and servants—his silver, his books and his clothes—apart from two cups made of silver and two golden rings, which he left to the church in his memory. To the chapter he gave a gilded silver goblet and some metal dishes, and had some money distributed for his soul's sake. He instructed the executors of his will to distribute all his crop, wine, horses and everything left over in his home and to pay off certain debts of his. The archdeacon attempted to prevent this, saying that a churchman cannot legally make disposal by testament except regarding those goods that were not acquired through the church. But the citizens, moved by pity, let him do what he wanted.

¹ See above, n. 10, p. 293. He is mentioned as count of Split from August 1262 (in Barbarić *CD Supplementa*, 1: 256) to June 1268 (*CD* 5: 470).

Istos vero episcopos, dum viveret, consecravit in provincia ecclesie Spalatensis, videlicet dominum Iohannem Scardonensem,¹ dominum Ladislavum Tiniensem.² Dominus Columbanus³ consecratus est in Romana curia, sed veniens, ut moris est, metropolitico iure sibi prestitit iuramentum. Consecravit etiam dominum Dobroniam episcopum Farensen.⁴

Obiit autem octavo decimo Kalendis Mai,⁵ anno Domini millesimo ducentesimo sexagesimo sexto fecitque se consepeliri domino Crescentio ante fores ecclesie.⁶

¹ See above, n. 3, p. 356.

² Bishop Ladislav of Knin (died 1272) is mentioned for the first time in documents in 1264 (CD 5: 292).

³ Columban was a Franciscan and an apostolic penitentiary. He was appointed bishop of Trogir (as Treguanus' successor) by Pope Alexander IV on 4 July 1255 (CD 4: 601–2). He resigned his position in 1277.

During his life he consecrated two bishops in the Spalatin dioceses, namely lord John as bishop of Skradin,¹ and lord Ladislav as bishop of Knin.² Lord Columban³ was consecrated in the Roman Curia, but on arrival, as is customary, he swore his oath according to metropolitan right. He also consecrated lord Dobronja as bishop of Hvar.⁴

He died on the 18th day before the Calends of May,⁵ in the 1266th year of the Lord, and in accordance with his wishes was buried in front of the gates of the great church of Saint Dominus in Split, next to Bishop Crescentius.⁶

⁴ Dobronja is mentioned as bishop of Hvar from 1267 to 1272 (CD 5: 421, 455; CD 6: 9, 17).

⁵ 14 April.

⁶ See above, ch. 16, esp. n. 6, p. 91.

Map of Medieval Split

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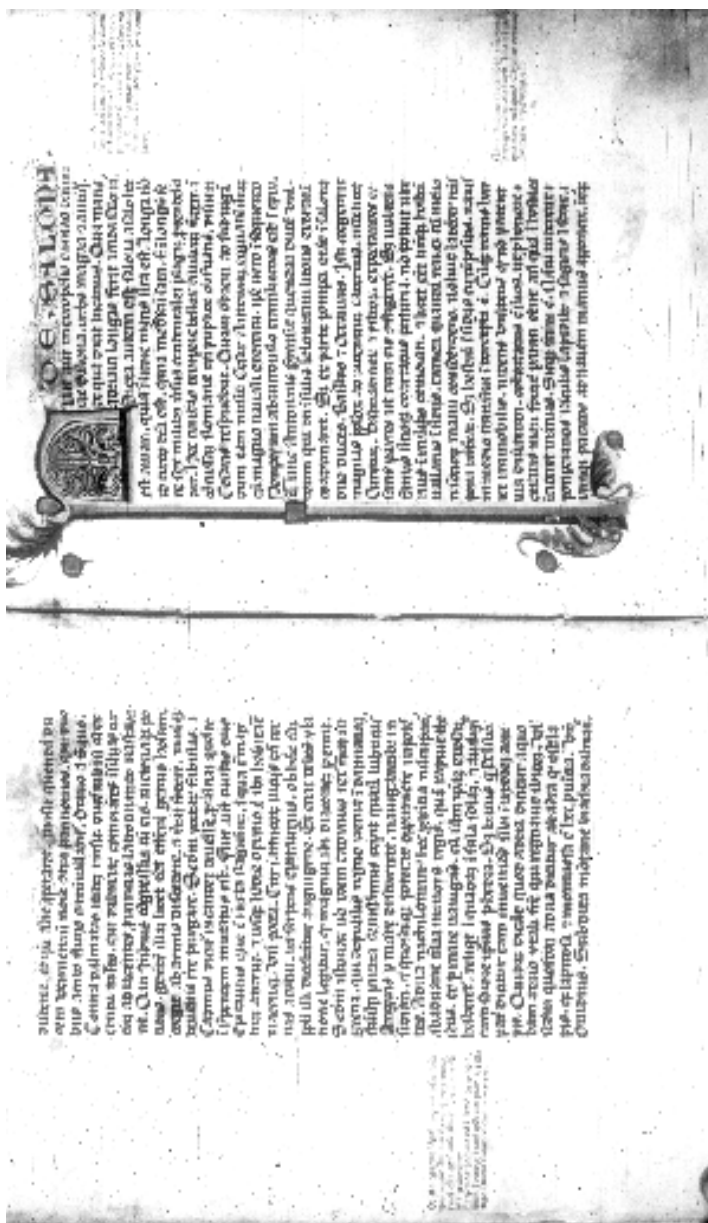
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GAZETTEER OF GEOGRAPHICAL NAMES

Abbreviations for Languages: Alb. – Albanian, C.Lat. – Classical Latin, Cr. – Croatian, Germ. – German, Gr. – Greek, Hung. – Hungarian, Serb. – Serbian

FORM USED IN THE TRANSLATION	LATIN	ITALIAN	OTHER LANGUAGES
Bar (Cr./Serb.)	Antibaris	Antibari	Tivari (Alb.)
Bihać (Cr.)	Bihigium		
Biograd (Cr.)	Alba Maritima	Zaravecchia	
Brač (Cr.)	Bratia	Brazza	
Čazma (Cr.)	Chasma		Csázma (Hung.)
Drishti (Alb.)	Drivosten	Drivasto	Drivast (Cr./Serb.)
Dubrovnik (Cr.)	Ragusa	Ragusa	
Durrës (Alb.)	Dyrrachium	Durazzo	Drač (Cr./Serb.) Epidamnos (Gr.)
Esztergom (Hung.)	Strigonium		Ostrogon (Cr.)
Hvar (Cr.)	Phara	Lesina	
Kalocsa (Hung.)			Kaloča (Cr.)
Kamen (Cr.)	ad Petram	Sasso	
Klis (Cr.)	Clissium	Clissa	
Knin (Cr.)	Tininium		
Korčula (Cr.)	Curzola	Curzola	Corcyra Nigra (C.Lat./Gr.)
Kotor (Cr.)	Cattarum	Cattaro	
Krbava (Cr.)	Corbavia		
Krk (Cr.)	Vegla	Vegla	Curicta (C.Lat.)
Kvarner (Cr.)	Quarnarium	Quarnaro	

FORM USED IN THE TRANSLATION	LATIN	ITALIAN	OTHER LANGUAGES
Livno (Cr.)	Cleuna		
Luka (Cr.)	Luca		
Makar (Cr.)	Mucurum		
Mosor (Cr.)	Massarum		
Mutogras (Cr.)	Mons Crassus	Monte Grasso	
Nin (Cr.)	Nona	Nona	
Omiš (Cr.)	Almissa	Almissa	
Osor (Cr.)	Absarum	Ossero	
Rab (Cr.)	Arbum	Arbe	
Senj (Cr.)	Segnia	Segna	
Sisak (Cr.)	Siscia		
Skradin (Cr.)	Scardona	Scardona	
Solin (Cr.)	Salona		
Split (Cr.)	Spaletum	Spalato	
Ston (Cr.)	Stagnum	Stagno	
Svač (Cr./Serb.)	Svadium		
Székesfehérvár (Hung.)	Alba Regia		Stolni Biograd (Cr.)
Šibenik (Cr.)	Sibenicum	Sebenico	
Šolta (Cr.)	Solta	Solta	
Trogir (Cr.)	Tragurium	Traù	
Ulcinj (Cr./Serb.)	Ulcinium	Dulcigno	Ulqini (Alb.)
Vis (Cr.)	Lissa	Lissa	
Vrana (Cr.)	Aurana	Aurana	
Vranjic (Cr.)	Vraniza		
Zadar (Cr.)	Jadra	Zara	
Zagreb (Cr.)	Zagrabia	Zagabria	Zágráb (Hung.) Agram (Germ.)
Zvonigrad (Cr.)	Svonigradum		